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FOUNDATIONS
OF
INDIAN CIVICS

(CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL)

BY

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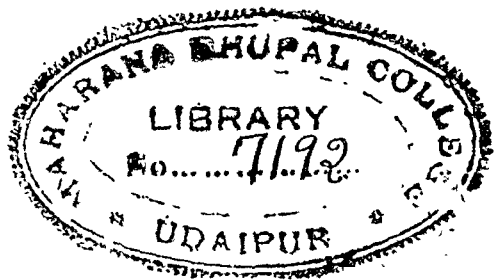
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सुखस्य मूलं धर्मः ।
धर्मस्य मूलमर्थः ।
अर्थस्य मूलं राज्यम् ।
राज्यमूलमिन्द्रियजयः ।
इन्द्रियजयस्य मूलं विनयः ।

—कौटिल्य ।

Dharma (virtuous life) is the source of happiness

Artha (material life) is the support of Dharma

Rājya (state) is the basis of Artha

Organisation is the root of Rājya

Good conduct is the foundation of organisation.

PREFACE.

Preface indicates and embodies my personal outlook. I have treated Indian Civics as a study of Indian Civic problems both culturally and politically. This book presents an analysis of the existing civic situation in India and discusses the means adopted and the methods necessary for improving it. Every country has a historical (cultural) and regional (political and economic) background out of which the present conditions has grown. Therefore I have treated civic problems historically and regionally. But to me its constructive current and national aspect are more important.

The problem of citizenship in India appears to me primarily as the problem of a common and continuous struggle of her people for creating a cultured and national community and a self-governing and independent state, for acquiring their full membership and for securing their equal rights, secondly, as the problem of creating a common outlook, a sense of unity and equality and a sane motive and idealism amongst its separate political units, religious groups, social classes and individual citizens generally; thirdly, as the problem of making adjustments and compromises between these various groups in the process of our national evolution in order to remove their present distrust and conflict of interests; fourthly, as the problem of developing a national character and outlook, transcending personal and group interests for the sake of national unity, independence and culture, of training a right understanding of civic virtues and of developing toleration and respect for one another; fifthly as the problem of reform within different communities, of elevating and broadening their group life to certain high standards of modern democratic and social needs; and lastly, as the problem of right ordering of their several loyalties to various groups in which our citizens live, and of creating a right scale of moral values or standards for them.

It is therefore to me not simply a problem of understanding our constitution and its spirit, and the machinery of our government and the details of its administrative organisation.

This book therefore deals with the growth of civic life and national ideals in India in the light of remarks made above. It examines and estimates the influence of our land, peoples,

culture, religion, society, education, hygienics, economics and politics on the making of the Indian citizen, that is, his personal health and character his civic position and conduct. It describes the attempts and struggles he has made to achieve self-government and a full civic status. It analyses the present state of our civil and political citizenship and also the hindrances to good citizenship. It states the civic rights and national ideals it wants to achieve. Finally it describes and values the present policy of our rulers towards the aims and struggles of our citizens.

This has been my aim in writing this book. It has been rather a difficult task to present all the developments, aspects and needs of our civil life without hurting personal feelings, upsetting communal loyalties or disturbing ideological utopias of various groups in our public life of to-day. I have tried to maintain, as far I can, an impartial and balanced attitude in my statements. I have ignored the temporary manifestations of our personal and communal likes and dislikes and emphasized the permanent needs and interests of our national life.

It is for the reader to judge and value what I have written here.

Benares Hindu University.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.

January, 1938.

Nature and Scope of our Civic Life

Its nature—There is to-day an all sided awakening as well as discontent in India. There is a cry from everywhere of political oppression, social tyranny, economic exploitation and cultural exclusion. It is not confined merely to the intelligentsia but is also spread amongst various castes and communities, women and young men, workers and peasants, untouchables and aborigines. This is due to our want of political power, social equality, civic freedom and economic security. It is our desire and endeavour to secure them. Therefore in order to make our civic life more advanced, cultured and happy, it is necessary to study its problems more methodically and to find out the right ways of civic conduct and the right ideals of civic life. It is the claim of Indian Civics to undertake such study and to find out such ways and ideals.

Indian Civics studies the problems of civic life in India in all its aspects. It takes into account a citizen's past traditions and currents of culture, his present environment and needs, and his future ideals and tendencies. It concerns itself not only with the forces that control and guide his life in making his existence possible, but also with those which make him a good citizen and help him in his present and future welfare. Indian citizenship of today is a historical and regional growth. We shall understand its nature and obligations correctly if we study its history and geography. We shall therefore try to know the geographical environment, the historical events, the mental outlook and the social processes which have led to the formation of our national life. A national tradition is a spiritual fact. It gives us a clue to the understanding of our social life and its making. The factors which make up that life consist of the land in which it is lived, the peoples who inhabit that land, the occupations which they follow, the spirit which unites them, the law and government which they possess, the religious life they lead, the culture and institutions they create, and the historical heritage they develop. Each nation makes its own character, tradition and destiny. It does not however, possess eternally fixed character

or traditions. They are made and remade. They can change to suit new conditions and new purposes. They are created and transmitted socially and culturally. They are the result of acquired tendencies which a people has developed on the basis of its racial blend, its territory, its economic life, its ideas and ideals, its beliefs and institutions.

Indian Civics and Citizen.—Therefore Indian Civics has to interest the Indian citizen in the study of all these problems and aspects of civic life. Besides that, it must interest him in the conduct of public affairs and inculcate in him knowledge which is useful for the understanding of his needs, duties and rights. It must treat him as possessing a full membership of the state and the community to which he belongs, and must consider him to possess full rights of freedom, equality and authority embodied in them.

It must give him the right sort of motive for leading his civic life, the right scale of social values and the right understanding of human virtues, and thus create in him a character and habit of equality, service and fellow feeling. The knowledge which it gives him must reveal to him his relations with other members of society in which he lives, and make clear to him his duties, rights and responsibilities and train his impulses to right action and behaviour. It should create in him a sound public sentiment and an active public spirit.

Indian civics has to day to deal with the problem of right behaviour and right relations between different social communities and economic groups of India, and thus to prepare the Indian citizen for a proper outlook in dealing with the social, economic and political problems that agitate the country.

Its Scope.—Though Indian Civics deals with the nature of government which gives him protection, of laws which bind his activities, and of courts which give him security and justice. it does not describe merely the mechanism of the Indian Government or the history and effects of its administration, but it also shows how the Indian people may live best together in communities and how they may best share in the activities arising from their common life. It thus studies the right relations of the citizen to the citizen, and of the social group to the social group, along with those of the citizen and the group to the government which looks after their security and welfare.

Indian civics is a social survey and study of Indian life in all its complex aspects and developments, noting its tendencies

and ideals. It cannot be dissociated from its historical antecedents, traditions and developments, nor from its sociological tendencies and needs.

Indian civics is thus an ethics of good citizenship in India and discusses all aspects of good neighbourly relations and responsibilities with a view to promote a happy, healthy, moral and cultured life in a united and independent Indian community.

Common Human Life.—No man liveth to himself alone. Human life is also group-life and growing life. There is interdependence in society. We must therefore recognise our common purposes in life and our interdependence in attaining them. They necessitate our mutual aid and co-operation. People living as a community have common purposes because they have the same wants. They grow out of their physical needs of life and health, their social needs of companionship and associations with others, their political needs of protection and justice, their desire for knowledge and beauty, and their hankering after religion and wealth.

Government serves as an agency in securing conditions of external order for such co-operation and mutual aid. Without it there would be a want of social effort and co-ordination in the life of the community. It is a body which does the work of administration and control which are essential for any social order. Human society requires growth and transformation to meet its new wants and ideals. The present complex of our social institutions and individual virtues can no longer contain and cover the mass of contemporary activities and processes of social life which serve to give greatness and force to human beings. The old are not prepared to give up or change the structure of old institutions. They feel bound by old traditions and obligations.

Our Needs.—But today old social functioning does not meet satisfactorily the wants and desires created by a very rapid development of science, invention and social thought. The conceptions of old politics, economics, morality and sociology are opposed to these inventions of science and social thought. These antiquated and useless formulas do not avail the present human needs and desires. Hence it is necessary to create a better conception of social life and relation in which the citizen may feel himself more free and more in solidarity with his fellow beings.

But this has to be done by teaching the citizens to form intelligent judgments on these civic problems and a better

understanding of living in society as a member of a complex modern civilisation. He must therefore be given the best experience and thought of humanity. He must be taught the best virtues and responsibilities of citizenship, the best ideas of justice co-operation and service.

A citizen must be a patriot and a partner, a sharer and a fellow-worker in the business of a nation in maintaining its unity, independence, culture, and common welfare. He must develop civic pride and guard himself against every thing detrimental to the character and reputation of his national community, and thus build up a worthy civic life. For good civic living the principles that help a citizen are justice and respect for other's equal rights. They must develop in him a sense of social justice and a respect for social authority.

Its aim.—Indian civics thus deals with problems that face the new Indian citizen and wants to guide him in developing his civics virtues and ideals which are to make his life worth living.

It is the modern urge for democracy and socialism which necessitates some systematic training in the problems of citizenship so as to enable citizens to play their parts as useful members of the whole civilised society.

Civic qualities.—The qualities which a teaching of civics should develop in a citizen may be stated to be firstly, the possession of a keen sense of social responsibility and the will to merge ones own immediate interests, and the interests of one's group or locality in the larger good of the whole which alone has a greater value ultimately; secondly, the taking of an active part in the work and welfare of the community, and the striving earnestly after securing the good life of his fellow-beings, whilst subordinating smaller loyalties to greater loyalties; thirdly, the love of freedom for oneself as well as for others, which is only possible if there is a genuine sense of tolerance and respect for the honest differences of others; fourthly, the capacity and habit of clear thinking and independent judgment, overcoming prejudices and prepossessions; fifthly, the taking of a keen and healthy interest in the living problems and forces of the modern world, and the understanding of the trend of modern political, economic, social and cultural movements, for a closed mind is incompatible with a sound and intelligent citizenship; and lastly the spirit of upholding his rights of free speech, association and meeting, and performing his duties of service, sacrifice and obedience to the society of which he is a member.

These qualities would develop a citizen's personality as a free, cultured and civic being. In order to achieve a fuller life man's personality requires not only physical and intellectual development, but also moral, aesthetic and spiritual development. His physical development gives him health and strength, efficiency and endurance, and a joy of living and long life. His intellectual development destroys his ignorance and superstitions, trains and disciplines his mind, and makes it conscious of his social and personal responsibilities. His moral development makes him a good and useful member of society. His aesthetic development creates in him a joy for life and creation. His spiritual development gives him a higher consciousness and the underlying purpose, relation and unity of all life.

Thus the study of Indian Civics concerns itself with all these aspects and problems of Indian national life and offers certain civic values and virtues for the Indian citizen's guidance and development. Progress towards good life depends on understanding the forces of the past and the conditions of the present, and the needs of the future. No society is a clean state on which a great or good man can write his name, message or utopia with ease and success. It is therefore necessary to examine the various aspects of his life and the forces which have moulded them in the past and are helping or oppressing them in the present.

CHAPTER II.

Our Motherland.

"Mother and motherland are higher than heaven itself."
Ramayana.

Influence of Land.—The land of India has moulded the life of her peoples into particular channels. has brought them into contact with particular foreign peoples and civilisations. and has employed their energies in particular forms of economic life. It has also acted as a bond of their association and unity. Let us therefore understand the influence of geographical factor on man and his activities.

There is direct action of the environment on the physical and psychical nature of man. In the early ages especially. its action is of great importance. Drought, humidity, wind-action, heat and light can modify either temporarily or permanently the individual characters of living beings. So also does the nature of food consumed. its superabundance or scarcity.

An organism bears within itself constant causes of modifications which give it a plasticity sufficient to allow its continuous adaptation to environment in which it lives. The formative influence of the environment does not take effect without a re-arrangement of the organism. There is influence of climate on the physical and psychical characteristics of men—their stature, colour, anatomical structure, moral energy, and intellectual aptitudes. Certain acquired characteristics are transmitted by heredity. Men carry with them in their natural and racial migrations or in their individual wanderings the mental imprint of their native landscape. It is through the medium of vegetable life more than anything else that land influences human life. Men never get absolutely free from the grip of their environment but they are never purely and simply acted on by it. The physical environment is, however, much more the material than the cause of human development. Man himself and his own nature is much more important than nature with its resources and obstacles. The persistent and supple will of man creates a number of possibilities of development in a given environment. The same regions have the most varied destinies. It is human activity which

governs their development. Man needs bases from which he can start his attempts to utilise natural resources and remodel nature, that is, mountains, plains, plateaus, valleys, seashores, islands etc. There are no absolute characteristics in these terrestrial forms and they have no inevitable and uniform action on man. There is no such thing as an absolute law of these forms which is imposed on man and on human societies.

The economic life which is more closely bound up with the natural environment can in a great measure be detached from it, and for stronger reasons, other aspects of human life depend very little on it.

It is from within, chiefly, that the evolution of political geography is to be explained. Human will supported with ever increasing success by industry and science out-wits nature. Man, not the soil or the climate, is ever in the forefront. In these close and constant relations between nature and man, it is man who always plays the more initiative part. What influences him is his interests. It is on the desire to be, and to be to the utmost, that the whole evolution of life as well as of humanity rests. Man is the hero, the great cause, who becomes more and more the master of nature. Humanity escapes from its natural environment by the action of its internal activity. The idea which men make for themselves of their environment, the idea which impels them to alter it, plays a great part.

The deliberate activity, the creative intelligence, and the will-power exerted in the contest with the obscure forces of the environment and striving to utilise them and to adapt them to its needs belong to individuals.

It is the economic needs in the first place and the efforts of men to satisfy them that explain the profound influence of geography on the evolution of human society.

In the early stages of human history physical features of land are a great governing factor in the ideas, the occupations and the spread or movement of communities and races. It is only late in history that human intelligence and labour have been able to modify or utilise the influence of physical forces or features.

Climate.—Climate affects individuals, their energy and enterprise, their food, clothing and shelter, and their occupations. Temperate and torrid zones have influenced populations in characteristically different ways. They have even moulded to a certain extent their mental and moral outlook and beliefs.

Resources. Resources similarly affect the life of the people. On mineral resources, vegetable products, animals inhabiting the region etc., depend the maintenance and occupations of the people. Their profuseness or scarcity, their variety or sameness mould the life of the people variously.

Contour. Then the contour of the surface determines the size of the community, its isolation or neighbourly contact, its self-sufficiency or interdependence and the character of its activity internal and external.

And others. The influence of mountains, rivers, plains, soil and the nearness of the sea is very great on the life of the people. It must be properly valued and recognised in the formation of a group of people and their activities and outlook.

Love of place. The greatest step towards civilisation is the settlement on and attachment of communities to land. Nomadic or pastoral communities had very little of settled life, arts or crafts, and very little leisure which could give scope for creative activities of mind. In that condition their material basis of life was not well secured. But settlement on land gave them security and fixity of primary necessities of life, namely, food, shelter, clothing and medicine, and secured them leisure for the development of other arts and crafts and for mental development. Hence love of the place arose amongst these settlers. It satisfied their earthly wants and gave them means for protection from their enemies. This love of the place resulted in the idolisation of the place. This deification was the natural outcome of the early religious conceptions of worship. The place which protected the people from earthly enemies, which provided their material wants, and which afforded leisure for moral and mental pursuits gave them all what early communities expected from their religious gods. This wealth, this peace and plenty, were what they sought from their gods in their prayers. These prayers or worship were mostly addressed to land, mountains, rivers or the benevolent spirits which it was thought resided in them. It was really the worship of the natural forces. Often they had to be appeased in order to avert their wrath or to attract their beneficence.

Rise of Patriotism. Land becomes a mother.—This living together on one place promotes intercommunication between various peoples who are attached to the land. This intercommunication may be, first for needs of material life; later it

becomes a close association for social life in its religious, recreational and human aspect. The resulting interdependence strengthens the love of the place and creates bonds of caste of fraternity or community between these settlers on land. The land strengthens the ties of the people and the people preserve, protect, and develop the land as a unit, with accepted boundaries marking it off from the rest. Thus a unit of land creates a unification of peoples, and the unification of peoples nationalises a unit of land. They work together, rejoice together, with a conscious thought of their fundamental unity and co-operative existence. They are proud of their birth in that particular territory and of the special attributes or characteristics which they have developed since their settlement on it. They come to possess a common tradition and aim which moulds them and maintains them together. This common spirit and the love of land are what is called patriotism and is expressed in the utterance "mother and motherland are higher than heaven itself." It entails the performance of rights and duties of citizenship. To do this properly a correct knowledge of the various sides of a people's life, of its essential characteristics, distinctive traditions and leading aims is necessary. India presents a fundamental unity of life, and a distinctive type of society and civilization, with her own ideals of order and progress. Therefore it is the duty of an Indian citizen to know her in all these aspects so as to live his life well and serviceably.

The mutual influence of place and man.—Nature influences the course of human life and achievement, and man in turn directs the course and forces of nature for his own use. Thus the history of man is not intelligible without a proper understanding of the geography of his country. Its climate and products, its rivers and mountains, its soil and fertility, its means of communication by land and water, all these go to make up a people. Their material life, their physical growth and moral strength or character are greatly influenced by these geographical factors. Place moulds man, as man modifies its influences.

India is a distinct geographical unit.—India is a distinct geographical unit. Himalayan mountains separate it on the northern side, and seas isolate it in the south from direct contact with other countries and peoples. Internally its communication is easy and helped by rivers, plains and passes. People can easily pass from one part to the other without constant contact with their home or province.

Himalayas, its open nature, its great wealth and enervated population gave easy access, and also success in the invasions they made on the peace and prosperity of India. The Persians, Greeks, Sakas, Hunas, Arabs, Turks and Moguls, all succeeded in entering India and establishing their kingdoms for a time till overthrown by their internal quarrels and decadence and the rise of vigorous indigenous kings.

The North and the West.—In the north-west and the Punjab the people are brave, hardy and of good physique, because in the dry climate and the constant struggle between nature and man only the fittest could survive. They opposed foreign invaders from beyond the mountains. In them Alexander had met a great foe and opposition. Only his superior arms and military skill could overcome them. But in the Gangetic delta and in the plains the life being easy, enervating, and tempting, the man became small, weak and lethargic.

These differences in climate and fertility produced gradually differences in food and social customs, and gave a variety of character to peoples of different parts and created a diversity in the unity of Indian life.

The South and the Sea.—Though Indian life in its broader and permanent aspects is a land life, the Southern Peninsula had easy access to the sea and a busy foreign intercourse. She developed her trade and commerce, her colonization and rule in the oceanic islands. The story of her shipping and maritime activity is long and her colonisation and rule is glorious, and is spread over a number of centuries as late as 12th century A. D. She was then the mistress of the Indian ocean and her goods and civilisation reached and were welcomed there.

Long distances and diversity enhance political conflicts.—In this resulting diversity and seclusion of peoples and in its long distances and want of easy means of intercommunication in early times it was not found possible to maintain a unified and a strong central power or to create a unitary state in the country. Various kingdoms without natural boundaries existed and fought with one another. A sense of fundamental geographical unity and want of proper organisation and easy intercommunication kept India in a state of perpetual flux and fight. But the sense and desire for ultimate political and national unity did not disappear. It is strongly present now when the ideas of organisation and means of communication have developed.

Foreign invaders who tried to establish large kingdoms easily succumbed to the enervating influences of climate and were overpowered by the geographical facts of large distances and want of easy intercommunications. Hence their empires always tended either to fluctuate in their boundaries or to weaken and to dissolve at the hands of a stronger political personality or another foreign invader.

The influence of the Khyber Pass and the seas.—Two other geographical facts have influenced the course of Indian political history. The north-west frontier being passable at certain points—especially at the Khyber pass—offered an inlet to ambitious and daring invaders, and once they entered, there was no physical barrier which could stay or delay their advance. This factor dominated the early and medieval period of India's political history. The other factor of the seas in the south has been the most dominating factor in her later history of contact with European powers. Their maritime strength opened the gates of India easily at first to their commerce, and later on to their political ambition. To-day the fact is that those who control the seas also control the communication with India, and in the absence of her peoples' political strength, her political sovereignty and national destiny have fallen in their hands.

India and her neighbours.—The mountainous and less fertile countries to the north and west of India, namely, Central Asia, Afganistan, Baluchistan and beyond have always bred hardy and warlike races. Their material needs and political ambitions made them look on India's fertility and wealth with greed. And by adding to it the bigotry of religion and conversion the result was that India became an easy and rich prey to every kind of human ambition. It became every body's land and of those who could conquer it. The constant raids of individual adventurers like Alexander the Great or Sultan Mahmud became a feature of Indian border history. The rapid conquests of Sakas, Muhammad-bin-Kasim, or Muhammad Ghori showed another feature of her territorial history. This forcible contact with foreigners brought in its train a number of new races, religions and customs, and India consequently became a museum of different nationalities, religions and social customs. It also opened communication with outside world and the natural isolation of India was destroyed. This resulted in an exchange of arts, ideas, and customs with the outside world. Thus the Persians, Greeks, Sakas, Huns, Arabs and Turks have influenced in different ways the course of Indian civilisation and outlook. It has also created some permanent conflicts amongst the peoples

who now inhabit India. The religious struggle of the Hindus and Muslims, and their different political ambitions and outlook have been the main causes of India's weakness as a nation in her endeavours for Swarajya and progress.

Consciousness of the fundamental unity of India from early times.—If we examine the history of India—of her ideals, beliefs and institutions, we find that India as a whole was the ideal of her peoples throughout past centuries. they never lost sight of the consciousness of her geographical unity and they idolised it in their religious utterances and institutions and political ideals and constitutions or conceptions. This consciousness was strengthened and maintained by her religious oneness, her political ambitions of universal sovereigns and her common system of social organisation, and is fully manifested in her religious, political and social ideas, customs and institutions and is reflected in all her literature. All these postulate India as one country permeated by a fundamental unity of language, religion and culture. No doubt India presents some disintegrating tendencies in her caste system, her various creeds, her different languages, and her certain extraterritorial groups, but it is a peculiar fact that all her castes, creeds or groups conceive India as one and show an integrating tendency in their various manifestations of life more powerful than any disintegrating tendency inherent in their narrower conceptions of caste, creed or language. Their higher feelings, traditions, and associations are Indian. India is their common country which they want to love, to idolise and to serve. Its boundaries are the extent of their ambitions, sympathy, religion and culture. All outside is, as it were, black waters or Mlechwadesa.

India thus presents a separate geographical unit marked out by nature and preserved and linked together by the aspirations and institutions of her people. It is not the result of British conquest and rule, but it is essentially a persisting Hindu conception moulding the life of the people throughout her history.

India as a whole is known from ancient times as Bhārata-varṣa, Bhāratakhanda, Aryāvartā and Dakṣiṇāpatha. Hind and later as Hindustan, both to the people within and foreigners abroad.

Consciousness of the religious unity of the country—Religious ideas of the people very properly bring out this aspect of the consciousness of the fundamental unity of India which is found in her prayers, hymns and places of pilgrimages.

They show the presence of their objects of worship in

every part and thus admit the sacredness of the country as a whole. These are either cities, mountains, peaks or hill tops, rivers, lakes, asramas or monasteries. These are sacred to all sects and they possess shrines in every part of India. To them the whole of India is a holy land or land of their gods. There was a spiritualised patriotism.

Many of the religious ceremonies are common to all parts of India. The great avatars, seers, poets, teachers, saints, kings, statesmen, philosophers and warriors are common to the whole of India and serve as the great heroes of the people to be imitated or listened to.

Consciousness of the political unity of the country.—Political ambitions and institutions as reflected in the political literature of the country and in the course of history contemplate the unity of India and work up for its realisation.

All the territorial divisions of the country are contemplated as parts of India and not independent, and all the various races inhabiting it as the feudatories of the whole, and as having a place in the whole, and not outside it. The knowledge of all parts and races was common amongst the people and India was always supposed to cover and unify the same.

The great kings, traditional and historical, possessed and to a large extent realised the ambition of being sovereign rulers over the whole of India.

Their political conceptions show the desire of establishing a sovereign dominion over the whole of India. Their politico-religious ceremonies are evidences of gaining and establishing paramount sovereignty over a large part of the country.

The various expressions of Sanskrit poets, dramatists, and writers express the current political sentiments and facts of the extent of the rule of kings over India as up to the limits of the oceans.

There is a traditional list and also a historical list of kings who, to a large extent, realised this political ideal of an Imperial Monarchy for India. The idea in the Digvijaya or Dharmavijaya, of Indian monarchs is this alluring idea of a universal central monarchy at the top with vassal kings paying tributes from below.

Thus we find that the political consciousness of the people had grasped the whole of India as a unit from very early times. The great Mahabharata war is a standing testimony to this unity of India. The cause was the cause of all. Princes and peoples from all parts of India made it their own and sided either

with the Kauravas or the Pandavas to uphold their claims and to establish the paramount power of Indraprastha over the whole of India. It was a national civil war. The Ramayana points out to the spread of Aryan culture, religion and institutions throughout the south, and the struggle of the Aryans to preserve them from being destroyed by non-Aryans of the south. This danger had arisen because of the long drawn-out war between Brahmanas and Kshattriyas in the north.

Consciousness of unity among the missionaries and colonists.—Buddhists missionaries who went to China, Tibet, and other countries in the north, and the colonists who went to the islands and countries in the southern seas, always carried with them the idea of India as a unit and a home.

Consciousness of the cultural unity of the country.—Culturally, India has always been recognised as a geographical unit. Its creations of art, architecture, painting, sculpture, music, and its literary products in Samskrit and Prakrit have an all-India character. The principles and canons of their creations or writings are recognised as authoritative or worthy of imitation through out India, even if they are created or composed in one part. The authors of these products work or write for the whole country and its social, political and religious life.

Consciousness of the social unity of the country.—Social practices and institutions as propounded by Dharmasastrakaras are meant for the whole of India, and the Dharma-laws and institutions relate to all the people inhabiting it, unless they belong to a different and extraterritorial religion. The Buddhists, the Jains, the Sikhs and other offshoots of Hinduism all follow the social laws of the country, namely, the laws of inheritance, succession and adoption.

Samskrit expresses this unity.—Uptil recent times Samskrit has been the literary language of the people and is even now the spoken language of the learned Pandits. The best works of Indian mind—the outpourings of its soul, its philosophy, its poetry and drama, all its technical sciences and arts—are written in this sacred language. The prevalence and recognition of Samskrit as the only proper language of literary expression throughout India in the homes of the learned and the famous writers proves more than any thing else the fundamental unity of India and her peoples. To the Hindus, India is, thus, an embodiment of their religion, politics, culture and social traditions and ideals, in short, the place or abode of the manifestation of their soul and character. She has moulded

their life and they have preserved and manifested their unity and character within her limits. She has become the symbol and body of her culture. The Hindus have loved her, have served her, have lived for her and died for her.

Thus the traditions, the conceptions and the manifestations of the civilised life of the people living within India are fundamentally the same and they are moved by a common inheritance handed down from all parts of India.

This consciousness has moulded Hindu history.—This persistent consciousness of the geographical unity of India and of the fundamental unity of her civilised life has been a great factor in the evolution of the Hindus as a whole. It has moulded their history and marked them off as a unit from other peoples.

Its existence during medieval times.—During the Muhammadan rule the consciousness of geographical unity of India remained and strengthened amongst the Hindus in their opposition to the foreign invaders. Every religious or political opposition was made in the name of Hindus and India, their holy land. The religions, the politics, the culture, the literature and the social laws maintained their all-India character. Indian history can be treated not in bits as a collection of provincial histories but as that of India as a whole.

The conquerors also desired the conquest of the whole of Hind or Hindustan. They wished to become the sole emperors of the whole of India. They desired to spread their religion throughout the country. Every invader or every patriot wanted to extend his rule throughout India. People always looked to one throne and one ruler for the whole of India, be he a foreigner or a native.

And during modern times.—During modern times again India has been taken as a unit of administration and rule. The Marathas and the British both fought for the sovereignty of the whole of India. The British succeeded and they have brought each part of India from Kashmir to Cape Camorin into administrative, commercial and cultural relation with the other parts of India and have given the country as a whole a fully centralised administration and made it a unitary state. The consciousness of the people about the unity of India has been strengthened and there has been a great awakening in the people of their common bonds, inheritance and aspirations. Common political aspirations and economic needs have been the two great factors in this awakening of a United India as a nation. The growth of national songs, the devotion to the ideals and

programmes of the Indian National Congress, no desire for provincial disintegration, the acceptance of the goal of Swarajya both by the princes and peoples of India, indicate their intensive love of India as a whole. Towards its greatness and glory all endeavours are now directed and applied.

Growth of a higher patriotism.—This love of the abode, of the neighbour and of the country has maintained a strong communal life and consciousness, irrespective of differences of religion, race, language or province. It indicates the growth of civic sense and public spirit which are essential for social stability and progress. This the Indians have achieved in the course of their long history. It was not the pride of race, nor the desire for domination nor any hymn of hate that was the impelling motive of the great achievement. It was the creation of tolerance, service and respect for the rights of neighbours. It was patriotism in a higher sense based on and inspired by the spiritual aspirations and moral discipline of the people which gave it a permanent strength and character.

But inspite of this consciousness of the fundamental unity of India as expressed in their love of the country, in their political ambitions, in their religious, social and cultural outlook, Indians have not been able to create an independent state and to build a united nation in India. They failed to develop and maintain a strong centralised and power which could unite the country, preserve its independence and integrity, check its separatist and disintegrating factors, and harmonise its classes, creeds and communities. Thus want of a real political unity and a strong central government, and the pressure of local and dynastic separatisms prevented this centralising and unitary development. Indians had vaguely visualised an empire in India and not a unitary state. They did not defend India as a whole but only its dynasties and kingdoms.

CHAPTER III.

Our Fellowmen

Love thy neighbour. Christ.

Thou art That. Vedanta.

Causes of people's movements.—Whatever may be the early distribution of the various peoples of the world, it is a known fact that many tribes or races have moved from their original abode in search of food, cattle and pasture, or out of nomadic instincts, pressure by other races, desire for warfare, increase in population, exhaustion of the means of subsistence or change in climate, and have later on settled on other lands displacing or destroying or mixing with the previous occupants of the land.

Influence of the Race.—Fertility of the soil and suitability of the climate must have contributed to their congregation and development at particular centres or parts of the earth. The early river civilisations of the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphratis, the Indus, and the Ganges, and the Yangtse and the Hoangho show the influence of these geographical factors in the settlement and movement of peoples. Race, representing the continuity of a physical type, stands for an essentially natural grouping, which can have nothing and in general has nothing in common with the people, the nationality, the language or the customs corresponding to groupings that are purely artificial, in no way anthropological, and due entirely to history, whose actual products they are.

The domestic characters differentiating human groupings, namely, build and height, colour of hair and eyes, cranio-logical and facial form, have neither psychological nor social significance. It is the brain within the unchanging brain-case that is subject to modification.

The influence on man's physical nature of his external environment, real and incontestable though it be, is above all ante-historic and has become progressively less. Racial factor is constantly being neutralised by the very agents that produced it, namely, environment and heredity. External environment works in opposition to the original purpose of the racial factor. Heredity, where new combinations are effected by the union of individuals, or to an even greater extent, by the mingling of races, becomes the agent of modification as much of conservation.

It is impossible to speak of pure races in India as in Europe. Migration, conquest, colonisation, emigration, nomadism have all contributed to a perpetual stirring and intermingling of races. There is a perpetual movement in the early days of humanity under the pressure of external and internal forces.

The mingling of races contributes to the development and enrichment of peoples. This mixing together added to transformation of environment and changes of locality exercises great influence on human development, war and peace, fighting and mutual aid, have thoroughly mixed together human elements. The result is not only a mingling of blood but also a physical modification. The progress of the mind plays a large part in the elimination of the racial factor. Race gradually effaces itself. The ancestors exert less influence by their blood than by their institutions and ideas they have left behind them. It might be well said that history makes the race to a greater degree than race makes history. Anthropological groups disintegrate and multiplies into ethnic groups, and these ethnic groups mingle together and become transformed into peoples and nations. Humanity makes and remakes itself. Physical unity if it ever existed has been gradually replaced by psychical unity. The unity of resemblance has been replaced by the unity of consciousness.

There is no superiority or purity of certain races. Man can live in and escape from the reactions of environment. A culture or civilisation contains many races and languages spread over a region. Race is a physical classification concerned with the outside of man. Culture is a mental and spiritual fact concerned with the inside of man. Race is not destiny. The racial composition of any nation does not determine its history and character. The racial blend of a nation may however serve as a selective agency which chooses for survival this or that mental outlook or belief, because it is most congenial to its hidden inner tendencies.

Groups which entered India.—The various ethnic groups which entered India may be enumerated in chronological order as the Dravidians, Aryans, Iranians, Mongolians, Greeks, Scythians, Huns, Arabs, Turks, Persians and Europeans. These are the elements which mainly compose the population of India, but the strength of each element differs greatly from the other. The aborigines, the Dravidians and the Aryans are the three dominant elements in the racial admixture of India.

Their main characteristics—1. The aboriginal element :—It consists of rude savages and their culture is neolithic. They live in cl. serts and hills. Their numbers are not small and their languages are quite different. They are the oldest inhabitants of India.

2 The Dravidian element :—It is not only strong in numbers but advanced in civilisation. Dravidians are the predecessors of Aryans. Their languages are distinct from those of the Aryans. It is they who fought bravely with the Aryan invaders. Their civilisation is now greatly a part and parcel of the present Indian civilisation.

3. The Aryan element :—It has been the most dominating element. The Indian civilisation is greatly its make. It largely ousted the original inhabitants and the Dravidians and settled on their lands. established their religion. their rule and their laws and social organisation in the country. Their history is the most important. instructive and enlightened history of India. They were not completely absorbed in the indigenous population as others were.

4. Each wave of later conquerors—the Iranians, the Greeks, the Scythians, the Huns, or Mongolians—which entered the country by land became more or less absorbed in the existing population. Their individuality disappeared. They succumbed to later invaders.

5. Even the Arabs, Pathans, Persians and Turks who conquered parts of India and became her rulers gradually lost their unique character and vigour and were absorbed in the converted population of India, though they may have retained their religion and social laws.

6. The Europeans, namely, the Portugese, the Dutch, the French and the English, who came last kept up an exclusive attitude. They have maintained their rule, though some of them have been reduced to a very small compass. Their numbers have never been large. They have remained only as a caste of rulers. They never entered into regular matrimonial alliances with the indigenous converts, and have maintained the purity of their blood. The Eurasians are the result of a mesalliance originally between the natives and the foreigners. They again have kept apart from Indians in religion, social laws and national sympathies.

The factors influencing the races.—The population problem of India is very complex. It is not so much racial as religious and cultural. The new mould into which these various races are

entering under the influence of geographical environment and of contact with various races is of a slow growth. It is to a certain extent hindered by the influence of heredity, religious exclusiveness and cultural differences. But there is a steady pressure of physical environment and cultural economic and political needs in forcing these races into an Indian type and into a larger cultural union.

Influence of foreigners.—The foreigners in turn have influenced the course of Indian civilisation

- (1) in art, architecture, painting, sculpture and music,
- (2) in the use of weapons and methods of warfare,
- (3) in dress and ornaments,
- (4) in industrial arts and crafts,
- (5) in religion and social usages,
- (6) in moral and spiritual ideals,
- (7) in language-forms and literature and
- (8) in blood mixture by marriages or otherwise.

Aryan mind dominates.—These influences are fully visible in the various aspects and treasures of Indian civilisation that we now see, they being the results of past contact between the natives and the foreigners. But after enumerating all these influences and changes we can safely assert that the Aryan element and civilisation dominate the mind and spirit of India. It is the chief fact in the national evolution of India.

Fusion of blood and the caste idea of the Hindus.—Foreign groups which merged in the population brought in new strains of blood, but the Hindu caste system localised this intermixture, and there has been no general fusion of blood amongst the Hindus themselves, much less with the foreigners.

Large fusion amongst Muslims old and new.—Amongst the Muhammadans of India there is a great fusion of blood even if the people belong to different groups. Their religion welcomes conversion. There is no caste system and marriages are not at all prohibited amongst different groups. There have been considerable marriages amongst the old and new or converted Muslims. Their religion is one of absorption and assimilation in all ways, and not of exclusion and rigidity as of the Hindus.

Hence there has been a large fusion of peoples amongst the Muslim population of India. Consequently, their customs, beliefs, modes of living and morals have become similar. They adopt the method of standardisation of all who are converted, whilst the Hindu method is that of differentiation of each sect or group or race from the other with no common standard

of religious practices or social and personal usages and common traditions.

Muslims have kept aloof from a absorption into the Hindus. They possess a definite creed based on the Koran and a different culture, a great political tradition and a good religious following. The simplicity of their religion and their religious devotion have kept them together as a great brotherhood. Their prolonged rule in India and the Hindu exclusiveness and the system of non-conversion helped them to maintain their individuality and to increase their numbers.

No doubt, nominally converted Hindus retained their old customs and connections. But the doors of the Hindu community were permanently barred to them, and there was an increasing influence of Muslim ideas and usages on them. Once their face got turned towards Mecca, away from the traditions and influences of their old community, their descendants gradually became more and more Muslim.

Hindu influences on Muslims.—We have, however, yet to recognise the influence of Hinduism on Muslim populations. Leaving aside the relics of Hinduism amongst converts we may trace a number of Hindu influences on Muslims in India. The ideas of worship of saints, tombs and Tazias, of music, processions and decorations, restrictions on intermarriages, mode of food, dress, habits of thought, and language, some social and religious practices, festivals and celebrations are largely the result of Hindu contact and influence. Some Vedantic ideas of God and man and the idea of the essential unity of all religions have influenced a few Muslim saints and rulers who preached and practised tolerance towards all, and a class of Muslims has grown up who advocate this tolerance towards neighbours, and the brotherhood of man.

Muslim influences on Hindus.—Islam has also influenced Hindus in different ways. The Islamic idea of the unity of God and of the religious brotherhood resulted in the founding of some sects which preached the unity of God both to Hindus and Muslims, and admitted members of all castes into one religious brotherhood and system of religious practices, where there were no differences between the high and the low.

Muslims rulers introduced a taste for Arabic and Persian literature which began to replace the importance of Sanskrit as a court language. Along with that taste came their forms of literature, their methods of writing history, some new types of poetry, and a large number of words relating to adminis-

tration and life which replaced or were added to the old. Some new styles of architecture were introduced on the model of buildings at Mecca, Damascus and other cities of Muslim countries. But these styles were largely modified by Hindu architects, environment and material.

Muslims introduced superior weapons and methods of warfare. Unity of command, the use of cavalry, the rapidity of movement and the dash and daring in the name of religion were unique in the history of India. Later on came the use of gun-powder. Hindu methods were old and cumbrous, and not suited to large commands and great battles.

They gave a more worldly outlook to Hindu life. The neglect of worldly duties and welfare, political, economic, and social, was sapping the strength and power of resistance of the Hindus. Their small groups or kingdoms and their personal hatreds and rivalries had made them powerless to stem the tide of Muslim advance and invasion. The worldly and more practical outlook of Muslims and their religious unity and political brotherhood made Hindus realise their weakness and gave them a more worldly and national outlook, and after a long period of Muslim rule gave birth to the Maratha nation which fought against them with a more political outlook and national spirit. In minor matters of life they brought from abroad a few articles of food, modes of dress, ideas of luxury, amusements and paid great attention to the construction of new buildings and gardens wherever they settled in opulence or power.

During their time a greater intercourse with the neighbouring world necessarily resulted. A brisk commerce by land and sea in caravans and ships was visible with foreign countries from various parts and ports of India, and Indian products reached the various Asiatic, African and European countries. Maritime trade with these countries was mostly carried on by Arabs and later by Europeans.

European influences.—The smaller foreign communities who have settled in India are either exclusive or ecclesiastic in spirit, and hardly associate with others in social matters. Jews and Parsis maintain their isolation very strictly and therefore do not affect the ethnic character of the general population. They live, so to say, as independent castes with their own social and religious life. They are non-converting like Hindus. But this cannot be said about the Christian population. It was the coming in of Portuguese and their rule on the western

coast of India that gave impetus to a systematic and forcible conversion of the Indians. They perpetrated many atrocities on the inoffensive people, their temples and gods, and thus created a class of converts to Christianity who were denied readmission to Hindu society.

Then the intercourse of the Portuguese with the native women led to the rise of a mixed Eurasian population. Both the converts and the mixed people came to have a distinct non-Indian outlook and character.

Similarly other Europeans have tried to convert Indians to Christianity through their missions and political influence and support, and a large class of such converted population has arisen in India. These and the Eurasian populations have shown very little sympathy with India, her culture, religion, and political aspirations. On the contrary, many of them have been antagonistic to everything Indian. No doubt, this attitude may change later on and become more favourable owing to common political and economic grievances. They all try to imitate European culture and rely upon European rule in India. Amongst them thus has been going on a fusion of races similar to that amongst Muslims, both being converting religions, and generally admitting converts on equal terms.

The English conquest of India.—The English who came to India to trade and later to conquer did not want to interfere with the social and religious life of the people. No doubt they had to study and to understand the social and religious history, laws and sentiments of the people in order to be able to govern better. Western civilisation which came along with them had and has its Indian admirers and devotees, but as yet any fusion of culture and standpoints has not definitely taken place in the Indian mind and its products.

Europeans who are living in India for political, religious or commercial purposes keep quite aloof from association with Indians in matters of food, dress, and social manners. Excluding the rise of a Eurasian class there is no chance of their fusion in any way with Indians.

Conditions which prevented a fusion of race in the past.—Thus we may summarise the conditions which have prevented a total fusion of various races and classes in India :

- (1) Caste exclusion.
- (2) Religious antagonism.
- (3) Social and cultural indifference and isolation.

- (4) Rigidity and fixity of old customs and laws. There may have been stray but unapproved marriages between men of different castes, religions and colours.
- (5) Ideas of purity of race, and superiority of culture, and separation between vegetarians and non-vegetarians.

Modern tendencies, bad and good.—During the present times the communal and religious consciousness has led each caste or community to reject fusion with others. Their political ambitions have created a greater gulf between one community and the other. Each caste or community acts first for itself and not along with others but in opposition to others. Their religious fanaticism or spirit of irreligion has increased, and under one pretext or another mutual intolerance, hatred and fight have also developed. Their outlook is not national, and the spirit of mutual help and service, and of tolerance and respect has been found largely wanting. But these may be temporary out-bursts of passion. There are, however, certain tendencies manifested in the social and political life of the country which may be taken as signs of a hopeful future.--

1. Interdining and intermarriages amongst sub-castes, which may lead to the rise of similar practices amongst different castes themselves.

2. Interprovincial marriages.

3. The principle of permissive legislation by which intermarriages are legalised.

4. The softening of social boycott and untouchability.

5. Increase of foreign travel and contact.

6. Increase of interdining with others.

7. The new impetus to Suddhi and Sangathan or Tanzim and Tabligh shows the awakening of the people to a social, religious and national consciousness. Smaller groups are being gradually merged into higher groups and thus society is being strengthened and various conflicts within it are being removed.

8. Contact with the West, and admiration for its vigorous ideals and institutions have led to a revaluing of old ideals and systems.

9. Modern means of rapid communication and frequent intercourse between different parts are breaking barriers of caste and exclusion.

10. Political needs and the Congress propaganda have given a new national outlook and life.

11. Social reform movements based on reason, utility or ancient texts have discredited caste exclusiveness and old customs.

12. Economic conditions are breaking caste restrictions about professions and rules of joint family life, and are giving place to new forms of individual family life and professions not confined to any particular caste.

13. Old village and domestic life is giving place to a national or international economics of industry and commerce.

Thus the old order is changing giving place to new.

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CHAPTER IV.

OUR CULTURAL UNITY.

"The Spiritual is higher than the secular."

"The One underlying the Many." Vedanta.

India's unity of culture.—India possesses an underlying unity of culture. It is manifested in all her forms of life. It may be studied in her languages and creeds, art and literature, modes of life, habits of thought and feeling, and general outlook.

Kinship of languages.—There is a community of languages in India, and common forms, words, and scripts prevail in a large part of the country. They are closely akin to the Vedic language and classical Samskrit. No doubt these have evolved during a long period. But the modern Indian languages are direct descendants of the old Samskrit and Prakrit. They have admitted some old indigenous or foreign words in their vocabularies but their structure and mould are Aryan essentially. These statements here made are about the Aryan group of languages which include the Kashmiri, the Punjabi, the Urdu, the Hindi, the Rajasthani, the Bengali, the Assami, the Uriya, the Sindhi, the Gujarati and the Marathi. They have preserved their identity in various respects and are still superseding the indigenous forms of speech. The influence of Persian which is also an Aryan language on Urdu is only in the nature of addition of nouns and not verbs.

Samskrit.—Samskrit is the oldest, the best and the purified language of the learned and literature. It is still a living language and moulds our modern vernaculars and present thought. It has preserved the unity of our culture and tradition.

Urdu.—Urdu is a Persianised form of Hindi with a Persian script. There are about 26 crores of people who speak these Aryan languages.

Dravidian languages.—The Dravidian languages are different in origin and structure. But they embody a large number of Samskrit words and literary forms, and their thought has become essentially Aryan in course of their long development. These languages are Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, and Kanarese, with some unwritten subdialects, such as Tulu and Kodagu. They are all largely influenced by Samskrit thought and expression. There are about seven crores of people who speak them.

Munda languages.—The other languages known as the Munda group or those of the aborigines have no written language or literature. They are primitive and are gradually being absorbed by other vigorous and advanced languages, especially the Aryan. The speakers of these languages have had no influence on the course of thought or history of India. They are spoken by about 50 lakhs of people.

Kinship of Indian creeds.—Indian religious beliefs are essentially Aryan, derived from Vedic ideas and practices. The Sanatani or Vaidika, the Vedanti, the Saivaites and the Vaishnavaites, the Sakta and the Bhaktimargi, the Bauddha and the the Jaina, the Lingayat and the Sikh, all of them owe a large part of their ideas and practices to the Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanisads, Smritis, etc. They may differ in emphasis which may be either on attachment or detachment, on knowledge, work, devotion or morality in turn, but their mould and mentality are the same. Their opposition is born of this differing emphasis and that different detail. But they have similar ideas and beliefs. The following are a few of them :—

- (1) Ideas and conceptions of prayer, one god. Karma, Punarjanma. Atma, Paramatma, and lesser gods.
- (2) Varna, Asrama, and Jati.
- (3) Touchability and untouchability.
- (4) Gods, common or similar.
- (5) Philosophical books, common or similar.
- (6) Moral tenets, the same or similar.

There are many other similarities in religious festivals, modes of worship, observances of fasts, etc.

Thus the Aryans and the Dravidians, the different sects and creeds, have intermingled and created a common heritage, and spirit, and a unity in India.

Indian creeds and foreign creeds. *Kinship in their highest aims and virtues.* —But foreign creeds, such as those of the Islam, the Christianity, the Judaism and the Zoroastrianism, are definitely opposed to Indian creeds in their prevalent outlook, forms and beliefs. But even between them and the Indian creeds may be traced similarities of final aims and highest thoughts.

The ideas of the Sufis and the Vedantists are similar, the beliefs and practices of great saints or fakirs are tolerant and humanitarian or universal. The ideas of one God, nirguna worship, absence of caste or creed in the eyes of God, rewards and punishments, Avatars and Prophets are admitted by all.

The primary virtues of tolerance, truth, chastity, nonstealing and nongreediness, the care of the poor, the sick and the old, and the service of the great are fully recognised. In these highest aspects and injunctions of religion lies the hope of toleration and unity of mankind. This underlying unity is worked out and manifested in India in the outlook of the best men of all religions.

Unity underlying Art.—In our art we find the same note of unity of spirit. Its spiritual aim, moral tone, and peaceful beauty are characteristically Indian. Its various aspects are subordinated to the highest spiritual aim of man which moulds its expression, forms and technique. Muslim art in India has also received this tone and outlook, though it is more worldly and less symbolical.

Common spirit in literature.—Indian literature is no doubt all-sided, dealing with all expressions of life, poetry and philosophy, science and arts. But the tone of its best compositions is essentially Indian, spiritual in its aim, moral in its endeavour, and material in its worldly wants. The relations of the human soul, the God and the world, and the virtues of renunciation, truth, non-violence, toleration and service and the emphasis on a good householder's life are the underlying topics of the Indian literature.

Common modes of life.—Modes of life generally depend on climate and soil, and a few of them on religious ideas. They are mostly common.

Food.—Corn and fruits, fishes and animals, spices, oils and drinks being common, food preparations are similar. They alone are generally suitable to the climate and soil in which we live. Methods of taking food are also similar.

Dress.—The forms of dress, dhoti, dupeta, topi, shirt and trouser, are generally common. The sense of colour, types of fashion, and the variety of patterns are usually the same.

Social modes.—Social modes are similar being based on the ideas of Varnasarama and caste. The ideas of purity and untouchability are also commonly prevalent, interdining and intermarriages are generally avoided, and endogamy and exogamy are widely adopted.

Habits of thought and feeling and the outlook on life.—The main idea underlying Indian habits of thought and feeling is that the earth is not the whole world. There is a higher world in which man has a place and a part. He must regulate

his life accordingly. Hence his attitude towards life is not to be individualistic but communal as a part in and for the many or the whole.

Secondly, however great the temptations and fruits of a vigorous worldly life may be, his aim is to rise above them, to return from them after a life of enjoyment and experience and to put himself in tune with the highest spiritual powers and ends.

Thirdly, the basis of life is religion and morality, not worldly or economic and political prosperity. The latter is to be properly subordinated to Dharma and Moksha.

Fourthly, there are the conceptions of the high and the low, of purity and untouchability, which mould the habits of their thought and feeling. But along with them is the idea of toleration, the desire to live and to let live.

The final aim is to reach the eternal and true life, surpassing all the bounds and bonds of caste, creed, and other differences of social and worldly life. This is the underlying unity or desire for salvation which animates the diversities of life, thought and feeling in India. In spite of many tongues and beliefs, one type of life, one mode of expression, thought, feeling and action persist in India which make for its cultural unity.

The present problem of a common language.—The evolution of a common language for India is one of the greatest problems facing the people but it appears to be a far-off cry. There can easily be evolved one common language for intercourse in India, but it cannot supersede the chief provincial languages, whose past history, present strength, and future tendencies show that they would go on developing vigorously and would not succumb to any common language evolved or adopted. Each of these languages possess a popular literature which is the possession of every one and is read and sung in every home being mostly religious, devotional and philosophical. It inspires the mind of the people, actuates them in their outlook, and consoles or enlivens them amidst their worldly affairs and anxieties.

English as the common medium.—There is a class of people which advocates English as the common language for intercourse in India, and also as a medium of instruction in colleges. But what about those who are in the cottages? No doubt, English has usurped at present an undue position in the life of the people, just as Persian had done in the past. The rulers have in every way promoted its inculcation and advance. It also gives access to the study of western literature, philosophy, science, and to the commercial world and international news. It has to be

studied because the administration and intercourse of the country are carried on through it and western civilisation can be approached through it. Still British rule is not a fact for all times, and if the administration in the future is to base itself on the wishes and wisdom of the people and the people are to take a conscious interest and share in its working and progress, then this foreign tongue will have to be supplanted. It cannot be imposed as an additional qualification for a representative, and the people cannot understand the actual working of the administration and its defects if it is to be continued as it is. As an approach to the study of western civilisation, it will be one of the three languages- French, German, and English which advanced students can study for the purpose they want. It cannot be made compulsory for all.

Hindustani as the common medium.-The other language which is more suitable and can be easily adopted and studied for interprovincial intercourse is Hindi, Hindustani or Urdu. Nearly 20 crores of people speak it or understand it. Its grammar and structure are easy, its historical associations are Indian, its vigour and sweetness in expression are great, and it can, moreover, be easily learnt. No doubt its literature is not more advanced than that of any other Indian language. Bengali or Marathi or Tamil may claim better title to it but its other claims for supersede those of any other language and its adoption is advocated only as a *Lingua Indika*.

The present problem of script.-One script for Indian languages is a necessity. It will facilitate the study of allied languages and bring us nearer to one another. There have been three suggestions made, namely, those of adopting either Devanagari, or Urdu or Roman alphabet for all the languages of India.

Devanagari as the common script.-Devanagari and its allied forms are based on scientifically phonetic principles and have been prevalent in India from the beginning of her history. They are associated with Sanskrit, Prakrit and modern languages for all times. From Panini to the present day all the best Indian literature is written in it. It continues to be the chief alphabet in India. Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, and Bengali, which cover a greater part of India, are written in it. Therefore it is suggested that it should be adopted on historical, scientific, and majority grounds. It is also indigenous. Some say that it cannot be written and printed fast, and hence its value is less. But compared with its various other advantages no other script appears to be equal to it in value.

Persian as the common script.—Muslims advocate the adoption of Urdu script. It is a Persian script. Their tradition, literary and political, is bound up with it. They feel as literary and religious persons no attraction towards Devanagari, though in provinces like Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and the South, their mother-tongue is the provincial language, and their correspondence, their accounts and study are carried on in the Devanagari character.

Urdu as a phonetic alphabet is imperfect, has no cultural or literary or religious association with the Indian life as a whole. It is confined to Muslims in the north, and is difficult to write and to print.

Roman as the common script.—The Roman alphabet is advocated generally by missionaries. They have adopted it in some of their schools in order to teach the converted children in their own mother-tongues. This is especially in cases where the aboriginal populations have no written languages. They advocate it because it is easy to write and to print, and also because it is the script of civilised European races and because it is gradually being adopted for backward peoples whose languages were left unwritten until now. But in India it cannot be adopted for the same reasons as the Urdu, though it is said that it has one advantage, namely, that it is easy for writing and printing. Some attempts have been made by Western scholars to print Sanskrit and Pali treatises in Roman characters and also to transliterate Devanagari or other characters in their dictionaries, grammars and other books. It may appear that there is some prejudice in the advocacy of each of these schools of thought. But prejudice, if at all it is to be justified, must be based on historical, cultural, scientific and majority grounds.

For the present it will be admitted as a practical proposition that the prevalent number of scripts should be reduced to at least three, one for Urdu and Sindhi, another for Aryan languages and a third for Dravidian languages. This will minimise the controversy and prejudices to a large extent, leaving the problem of one script for the future.

Elements in the Indian civilisation.—There are various elements which have influenced the civilisation of India. The Aryo-Dravidian is the leading and inspiring element. But there have entered into India at various epochs of her life various foreign influences from Asia and Europe moulding and contributing to a small extent to her civilisation.

Asiatic influences came chiefly from China, Persia and Arabia, European influences from Greece and England.

Arabic and Persian influence.—The Arabic and Persian influence has come through Arabian, Persian, Turkish and Mongol invaders. It was mostly religious, military and political in character. It brought in an intensely monotheistic, iconoclastic and missionary religion. It also gave some new forms of culture and literature.

Evolution of common culture.—The Arab conquest of Sindh brought the old Indian and the new Arabian cultures in contact with each other during the period of Abbaside Caliphate. Arabs borrowed a number of things in science and art from India. Similarly Indians came in contact with the new culture and religion of Arabs. The subsequent cultural movement in India was to evolve a common way of life, in the shape of habits and beliefs, moral standards and ideals. Its synthesis was being brought about by a deeply religious and human impulse fostered by some saints, scholars and rulers of a higher mentality. It expressed itself in dress, manners, customs, conventions; in personal habits and in tastes in music, painting, art and architecture, and above all things in language which became the most completely common element, and in religion where the active and democratic spirit of Islam and the contemplative spirit of Hinduism led to the revival of Bhakti movement in the middle ages.

European influence.—European civilisation has reached through Greek invasions, Roman contact, Christian missions, and and political conquests of Portugal, France and England, and the industrial and commercial contact, and literary studies of the West as a whole. All the aspects of European civilisation have entered and influenced India's intellectual, artistic, religious, political, economic, scientific and educational outlook.

India borrowed from others. She has not remained isolated.—Thus it is evident that Indian civilisation though unique in character has not maintained any exclusive outlook towards the knowledge and political and economic ideas of foreigners. Its doors have been wide open to all. Still it has not allowed its own self to be overpowered or destroyed. Its contact has always been with the vigorous races of the world, Semetic, Aryan and Mongolian. It has liberally given and also received from them. There is not one set of culture in the East and one in the West. The Indian and Western civilisation do differ in certain aspects, forms and emphasis, but are similar in others.

Indian ideals essentially spiritual and universal.—The Indian ideals are mainly spiritual, emphasising the Advaita philosophy and Dharma Sampat as guides to the highest life. They are based on intuitive knowledge or self-realisation, and advocate a life of simplicity. They emphasise the religious side of life and deal in universals and ultimates. Material world is not neglected, but it is not considered the only condition or limit of real life. Once having reached the true conception and organisation of life it is considered apostasy or ignorance to fall away from it. This has given a conservative attitude to their mind. Its aims are of peace, of joy and of salvation, its knowledge is of Advaita and its morality is of Ahimsa.

Europeans ideals essentially worldly and racial.—Europeans at present emphasise the value of intellect and science, material comfort and social peace, and the spirit of invention, social response and reform. Their attitude is of racial welfare, of extermination of others in the life of the world, or of their forcible subordination under their own guidance. Their ambitions are mainly economic and political in the world and they emphasise those aspects as most important.

India is the meeting place of world cultures.—India has thus been the meeting place of world cultures influencing and influenced by them. But she has still maintained her uniqueness and her culture is still her own. She has not only been a culture-absorbing centre, but also a culture-creating and culture-spreading centre. She may have shown a great cultural pride but has not any racial or exclusive outlook. Knowledge has been received and imported from wherever it came or from wherever it was found. Throughout her history India has contained elements belonging to different civilisations or to different stages of the same civilisation.

But India has created her own mould.—Thus in India a fusion of cultures is going on during the course of her long and chequered history. But the attempt of India is to go to the fundamentals. No doubt each different type may have borrowed from or imitated the other in some respects and thus led to a fusion on the material and intellectual planes in so far as they are not the manifestations of inherently different tendencies of different racial groups. Really there has not been any inherent difference. It has been a traditional difference or the manifestation of environmental influence and pressure. We do find that economic, political, and religious pressure has changed old ideas and outlook of life. But India has fused all these traits and

types in her own mould. She has put her own impress on those which came to her.

In form, in dress, in character, and above all in thoughts the thing that is Indian is easily distinguishable from foreign things. She has nationalised all in her own away. India is still a unit distinguishable from other units of culture and civilisation.

The dominant note of India.—The dominant note of India has thus been a synthesis of different cultures and ideas and then to go behind mere names and forms and to find out the true, the absolute. She has always contemplated a unity in diversity. To her all life is ultimately one, and all its manifestations have an underlying unity. Her search has always been for the one or the real in all the changing phenomena. She has, as it were, instinctively or intuitively apprehended the eternal truth, Tatvamasi (You are that) or Soham (I am he).

Her place in the world civilisation in the past.—She has been the home of all crafts, arts, sciences and knowledge. Here arose great men of thought and action who enriched and civilised her permanently. Professors, pupils and pilgrims from all parts of the civilised world came and studied at her Asramas and Viharas or universities. She has been a centre of great religions and philosophies, arts and crafts.

In the future.—It is difficult to forecast the future. But one can say that her Vedantic ideas, her universal outlook, her emphasis on truth and non-violence and her peaceful methods of life will most likely gain ground; and her intuitive and psychical method and attitudes will be realised and appreciated more and more. The conception and development of a common culture in India can only be fostered by recognising and honouring the need of it. It can only succeed if it is the dominating and guiding sentiment, and not by an impartial encouragement of all particular interests and ways. Culture being what it is, it is only slowly and unconsciously evolved, and requires noble human spirit and association for its development.

Dr. Ananda Coomarswami says.—Dr. Ananda Coomarswami remarks "India has nothing of more value to offer to the world than her religious philosophy and her faith in the application of philosophy to social problems. The heart and essence of the Indian experience is to be found in a constant intuition of the unity of all life and the instinctive and ineradicable conviction that the recognition of this unity is the highest good and the uttermost freedom."

CHAPTER V.

Our Religious Life.

“Dharma is the foundation of the moving world.”

“Dharma is the inspiration of the good.”

Importance of Religion.—Religious ideas and ideals have been a great dominating factor in Indian life. All ideas of worldly life, social, political and economic have been subordinated to religious beliefs and institutions. Religion has inspired the ideas of the people in the matter of good and full living here and hereafter.

Its universal prevalence.—Religion is universal to man. It is one of the chief differentiating characteristics of man. Man's rational nature makes him think about the creation, its movements and laws, and its hidden forces or energies. He begins to attribute his weal and woe to these hidden forces and their manifestations. He conceives of a creator or a supernatural force in every manifestation, agreeable or terrible, of nature. He feels that he must either live according to its laws or please or gratify it by worship and devotion. He may do this either out of fear, if his attitude is one of material and selfish interests, or out of joy or reverence if his mind recognises or soul realises the love and compassion of the creator. There has never been a group of people without some sort of religious faith and beliefs. Some individuals may have shown atheistic tendencies or lack of religious interest, but generally religious life is found amongst all people, and has been a powerful factor in the advance of human history. Religion has attempted to make life—

1. VEDIC HINDUISM.

"There is One Reality ; the sages experience it in various ways." *Rigveda.*

Hinduism is the oldest religion. Hinduism is the oldest living religion in the world. It dates back to the period when the Aryans settled in the land of India or even to a much earlier period in a far-off northern home, or when they were moving towards India. We cannot assign any definite period to the rise of this religion. But it is certain that it is older than 2000 B.C.

It is one of the largest religions.—It is also one of the largest religions from the point of its numbers. It counts nearly 24 crores of people in its fold, and though it is not now a converting religion its number is slowly increasing by way of natural growth and gradual assimilation of outcastes and aborigines. The census reports however indicate that its strength in proportion to Muslims and Christians which are converting religions is gradually decreasing.

It is one of the greatest religions. Its central doctrine.—Hinduism cannot be easily defined. It is one of the greatest religions. It can be described only in detail. Its forms, beliefs, objects and methods of worship, and practices vary. However its central belief is in one Divine Being, named Brahman. But it is considered omnipresent. It may be worshipped in various forms and by various methods. It is revealed in the Vedas which are considered to be eternal and superhuman. They contain revelations and are considered infallible. Their hymns embody moral and spiritual truths, and were seen by Rishis who were in touch with the Supreme Being and are delivered in an inspired language. But besides eternal truths, the Vedas contain references to individual wants and desires, curses and praises and to history which are not eternal truths but worldly affairs. Hindus take them as the original authority in religion and socio-religious matters. They were heard by seers and were orally preserved and handed down as separate schools or branches in different families.

What is Veda.—Veda means knowledge or sacred scripture. Vedas contain hymns used in prayers to gods, or used as ritualistic formulas in connection with various sacrifices. Most of the sacred ceremonies are performed with their aid.

Nature of Vedic gods.—The gods worshipped are generally personified powers of nature. They are invoked in various hymns to give success in war and prosperity in peace.

The Vedic mind.—"The distinguishing trait of the budding Aryan mind was its inherent love of light and of everything that was conducive to human happiness and welfare. Like children they hankered after light and turned away from darkness. The blue and bright expanse of heaven (Dyaus), the broad sunlit earth with its green meadows, luxuriant vegetation and flowing river (Prithivi), the bright and glorious sun (Surya), the beautiful dawn, preceding sunrise (Usas), the glimmering light on the eastern horizon, struggling with darkness for expression before the appearance of the dawn (Asvins), the bright star-bespangled sky at night (Varuna), the bright fire-dispelling darkness (Agni), the zigzag lightning in the sky, the glorious moon adorning heaven at night, the vast and glittering expanses of water in the ocean (Varuna), the life-giving waters that flow in the rivers, the cooling rains from heaven that make the grass and corn grow and vegetation thrive (Ap), the breezes that mitigate the effect of sultry heat (Vayu), the storms that rush through the advent of rains (Maruts), the deafening and dreaded thunder as it rolls and rends open the cloud and brings down rain (Indra's Vajra), the invigorating draft of Soma juice (Soma), the rivers that bring down pure drinking water from the mountains (Nadyah), all these natural phenomena and objects made deep impression on the susceptible minds of the ancient Aryans, who believed them to be suffused with life and intelligence, and endowed with a power of doing good, if approached in a spirit of adoration and humanity. Each natural phenomenon was believed to be presided over by an indwelling spirit called Deva or Devata. It was sought to be propitiated by appropriate songs and prayers which were afterwards accompanied by sacrifices in order to move the Devata into a benevolent activity on behalf of the worshippers." (Rigvedic Culture. A. C. Das, page. 453).

The underlying unity in diversity.—Rigvedic seers clearly conceived the idea of unity in diversity. They were not mere worshippers of physical nature in all its different aspects. They adored them as the different manifestations under different names of the One, the all-pervading and underlying spirit or soul, that is intelligent, active, and highly beneficent. It revealed itself as the Sun, the Sky, the Earth, the Fire. All is created by and born of this One highest spirit.

Thus the idea of the creator and creation having no beginning and no end found a place in the Aryan mind.

The unity of man and nature was also emphasised. Thus plurality of gods is only apparent. There is only one God who

is everywhere. Not only the highest God is thus contemplated but there is stated to be a cosmic order (Rta) according to which gods and creation took place. This Rta proceeds from the Brahman, rules and upholds the Universe, laying down the courses of the Sun, Moon, Dawn, Winds, Year, Day, Night, Season and Stars and the origin, growth, and decay of all life, animal and vegetable.

Hindus thus conceived of Rta and Satya, a natural and moral order in the universe, and of One behind the many who creates such an order. He appears first in the idea of a creator of gods and men and then in the intuition of a supreme reality, Brahman-Atman. Upanishads give this message. The ethical ideals which arise out of this monism are that individuality is an illusion or a false value and that in hurting others I harm myself. There is no self and no others.

Underlying spirit of Hinduism.—Hinduism is an organic growth and its idea or spirit has to be studied and understood as a whole. Its governing ideas or inspiring motives or controlling principles which give us its unity, show its continuity and manifest its spirit are based on the belief that it is a kind of experience and not a particular creed or ritual. It means raising one's life to a higher universal plane, to a new life and transforming one's whole being.

Hindu Prayer.—Religion is the practical realisation of the highest truth, It must be made a part of one's life by discipline of mind, purity of heart and devotion of spirit. It must satisfy the highest aspirations of human life towards perfection, reality, light and immortality. The *Gayatri* is a prayer for a passionate and perpetual renewal of the life for higher experiences and attainments. It is a prayer to the universal truth, to the universal light, asking it to illumine one's understanding, to make one better, to lift one higher and ever higher. Thus every individual must gain his own experience by facing the truth in and for himself. Each one must achieve his own salvation. It is done by communion of the human spirit with the highest universal spirit—the one, the absolute, the good, the real.

Later growth of sacrificial ritualism and priesthood.—The Aryans used both prayer and sacrifice as the method of worship and propitiation of gods and acquisition of merit and prosperity. But later on when ritualism of sacrifice became elaborate and the tyranny of forms arose, priest's importance and power increased, and society fell from a bright and dynamic outlook on life to a baneful and static conception of life. It passed to

an authoritarian state and was closed within bounds of an unchanging conception of social organisation and spiritual merit. Consequently it declined.

A philosophical reaction against it. Rise of Upanisadic doctrines.—A philosophical reaction against ritualistic attitude and sacrifices grew and resulted in the development of speculations about the human soul (Jivatma) and the Universal soul (Paramatma or Brahman). This is called the Jnana Marga or the way of wisdom. This was the first religious revolution in Indian thought and life.

Three schools.—Thus first came the early Veda Marga or way of prayer, then Karma Marga or way of sacrifice and rituals, and then Jnana Marga or the way of knowledge. All these are emphasised in the Vedas, the Brahmanas and the Upanisads.

The Karmamargis developed later the Mimamsa school; the Jnanamargis, the Vedanta school, and the Vedamargis, the Bhakti school.

The character of Vedic culture.—The early Vedic Hinduism had, by its bright outlook on life and universe, developed a good worldly civilisation on its material, moral, intellectual and spiritual side. The people wanted to make life here happy and good. They prayed to their gods for a long life of 100 years. They developed agriculture and increased and used their wealth of cattle and their products, and followed various arts, industries, and commerce, and kept their armour shining and ready against foes and foreigners. But along with this they cared for the spiritual needs of life which they satisfied by evolving very high conceptions of god, unity of life and nature, and a code of discipline and deterrents which kept them on a noble path of of civic and religious life. Their social organisation was not rigid but free, and the society was receptive in its ideas, responsive in its actions, and the individual had a lot of initiative and freedom to grow and to prosper materially and mentally. They believed in action and moulded their worldly life according to their needs and ideals.

Emphasis on true knowledge.—The Upanisads developed the early speculations of the tenth mandal of the Rigveda relating to Paramatma, Purusa or the great soul and the universe. They gave a new turn to the Hindu Mind. They emphasised true knowledge as that which leads to supreme bliss or Ananda by absorption in Brahman. It was firstly a reaction against the extreme ritualism of the Karma Kanda, where the slaughter of animals and formalism had captured the human mind

and had led away man from the knowledge of God. Secondly, it was a philosophy of the universe, where the intimate and ultimate relation of man, God, and universe was stated and his liberation and union in the highest soul of the universe was aimed at and followed. It was not the satisfaction of mere material desires and intellectual pleasure that was looked to, but a supreme desirelessness, transcendentalism and bliss that was contemplated. The man was to develop and strengthen from within and not by acquisition of power or desire from without. There were no rites or ceremonies but the desire, the hankering and the concentration to become one with the Eternal.

Brahman is the one reality and salvation through its realisation.—All the Vedic deities were regarded as manifestations of the One Supreme Soul, Brahman, who is everywhere in the world all-transcendent and all-immanent. He is the absolute, infinite, eternal, and omnipresent. He cannot be described. It is the one reality. Every human soul must know that he is really and ultimately to be absorbed into the universal soul. "Whoever thus knows 'I am Brahman' becomes this all. Even the gods have not power to prevent his becoming thus, for he becomes their soul."

This way of knowledge is in practice helped by Yoga methods of Yama and Niyama, controlling senses and producing concentration and promoting breathless contemplation on the great Brahman which is residing in one's own self.

Necessity of discipline and organised life for the many.—But this philosophical way was attainable by the few who could themselves control their senses and contemplate on the Universal Soul, and thus escape the bonds of worldly existence.

For the many, however, a regular system of personal discipline and deterrents, a social organisation according to his physiological necessities and psychological growth, and a graded series of desires and aims to be achieved and satisfied were necessary to be laid down and imposed. These prepared the mass of the people for a higher spiritual life by a course of education, married life, detachment from life and finally renunciation in order that they may follow the right path.

Great Lawgivers and Smritis.—This was done by the great lawgivers who embodied in their Smritis the right rules of conduct, personal and social, for Brahmanas, kings and subjects, for Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. It laid down not only the duties of the four Varnas, but also of their four Ashramas or stages of life interrelating the importance of one to

the other, and those of the highest or best life. Thus ideas of normal life and best life were organised into institutions with detailed commandments and prohibitions for daily living.

Manu's code of life.—Manu, one of the earliest lawgivers, insists on this socially organised aspect of life, its duties and obligations. He emphasises the five virtues necessary for any kind of life, and the additional five for civilised life.

There are regulations about food, eating, drinking, sleeping, education, family life, caste life, social life, religious life, political life, and economic life. On moral side respect and obedience to parents and teachers, and unresentful endurance of evil are inculcated. "Let him patiently bear hard words. Let him not insult anybody. Against an angry man let him not in return show anger. Let him bless when he is cursed."

In spiritual matters the infallible authority of the Vedas and the performance of sacrifices and samskaras, and the contemplation of Brahman are accepted and emphasised.

In social organisation caste system is elaborately worked out. It was considered to be of divine creation. Brahmana is considered superior. The low caste man is placed in an inferior position, social and economic.

Salvation through Varnasrama system.—Thus obedience to Dharma as laid down in the Smritis was considered completely binding and was to lead to spiritual salvation. The emphasis is very greatly laid on Varnasrama dharma and its preservation. It established the great social, religious, political and educational systems of the Hindus in the form of laws or injunctions and prohibitions. To-day the followers of these systems and tenets call themselves Sanatani Hindus or Smriti Margis.

Influence of Karma and Punarjanma.—It also emphasized the law of Karma and Punarjanma which means that rebirth follows human action in exact retribution. 'As a man sows so shall he reap.' The law of Samsara or worldly life is given as the Dharma or way of moral living which protects, honours and makes great oneself and others, and ensures either a good rebirth or emancipation from the whole process of life (Samsara) which is the evil to be escaped. Good Karma is the way of escape. It is an idea of great moral significance. It means that salvation or rise can be won by self-discipline and good life. There is here emphasis on purity and control of mind, body, and speech, on altruism and charity, on detachment from pain and joy and renunciation of attachment to desires and pleasures. India in its doctrines of Karma and Punarjanma

believed that there is a connection between sin and suffering, and between moral discipline and salvation. The central ethical message of all teachers is "escape rebirth by overcoming evil with good *Karma* and right *Dharma*, and by understanding the world by a process of asceticism and contemplation of the self. Without these there is no real knowledge and wisdom. They advocate the middle path for the common man between the life of indulgence and the life of austerity, namely, the right living of personal purity and detachment and human service and kindness. The course of the middle path they lay down lies between credulity and rationalism, between asceticism and licence. It is a bridge between the sacred and the secular. It is world-denying in its monastic forms, and world-affirming in its inspiration of the laity. It is contemplative as well as active. It leads to joys of enlightenment and acts of compassion.

Emphasis on Bhakti marga for salvation.—A gradual synthesis of the three ways of good religious life, namely, Karma marga, Jnana marga and Bhakti marga began to take place. Good personal and social actions, full and real knowledge, and utter devotion to God will together lead to final liberation.

Bhagvad Gita gives the virtues of all the three ways and finally advocates. "Whoever worships God with utter devotion dwells in me, whatever be his course of life." or "my devotee does not perish." He is saved. Women and low castes also are liberated. It emphasises the different qualities of four Varnas. They are created by God according to their qualities and actions. There is reverence for all ways. All the paths are to be practised without any desire for fruit or reward.

Bhagvat Gita introduces the additional way of devotion or Bhakti which was later developed by Bhagvats or Vaisnavaits.

The social message of Gita.—According to Das Gupta, Gita enjoins on all persons that the moral and social duties should be strictly followed. It argues therefore, that having attained the highest moral perfection by cleansing oneself of all impurities of passion, such as greed, antipathy, self-love and the like, having filled the mind with a spirit of universal friendship, compassion and charity and having attained perfect stability of mind, so as to be entirely unaffected by pleasures and afflictions of any kind, and being attached to God through bonds of love which unite him with his fellow beings, the true seer should continue to perform the normal duties that are allotted to his station of life.

his duties, no end to realise, no purpose to fulfil, no fruition of desire to be attained. he must yet continue to perform all normal duties, just as an ordinary man in his station of life would. The difference between the seer and the ordinary man in the sphere of performance of actions is that the former through the attainment of wisdom, the conquest of passions, the wasting away of all inner impurities, through the bonds of love with God and fellow beings and through the philosophical knowledge of the ultimate nature of the self, though dissociated and detached from everything else, yet takes his stand in the common place of humanity as represented in society and continues to perform his duties from a pure sense of duty in an absolutely unflinching manner. The latter, however, being engrossed with passions and bound down with ties of all kinds cannot take a true perspective of life, and while performing his duties can only do them from motives of self-interest. His performance of duties is thus bound to be imperfect, and vitiated by self-seeking tendencies and the promptings of lower passions.

However high a man may soar, to whatsoever higher perspective of things he may open his eyes, he is ultimately bound in ties of social duties to his fellow beings on earth in every station of life.

Pauranic influence and popular Hinduism.—During the Puranic stage the various religious movements in the country were gradually moulded into one channel of united religious life of the people. It may be called the new or popular Hinduism. It is found depicted in its early religious, social and moral aspects in the Epics, and Puranas and in its philosophic or ecclesiastic aspects at the time of Sankaracharya in his great commentaries and devotional or philosophical poems.

During this period a rigidity in social rules and samskaras arose, but toleration in religious forms, beliefs and methods increased. Castes and sub-castes multiplied. Sects and sampradayas increased. Gods also multiplied. Idols widely prevailed. Temples and shrines were built at various places. Fasts and feasts, purifications and ablutions grew in number. Purity and untouchability took a firm root. Thus a variety of religious beliefs and practices became a feature of Hinduism.

Thus Hinduism came to be based on the Vedas, Smritis and Puranas. Its main sects to-day are Vaisnavism and Saivism.

Essentials of Hinduism.—The essentials of Hinduism mainly are :—

1. The infallible authority of the Vedas or reverence for it.

2. Belief in the one God but worship of many manifestations.
3. The acceptance of karma and transmigration theory.
4. The caste as the basis of social organisation.

Puranas systematise popular Hinduism. This new Hinduism was also influenced by the ideas of aboriginal or Dravidian forms and beliefs, Jainism, Buddhism and some beliefs of foreign tribes who had settled in India. Puranas systematised these various beliefs, legends and gods and gave them an Aryan ancestry, form, and interpretation. These the people could easily read and understand.

Protests against Vedic religion and society.—The course and development of Vedic religion has not been smooth or peaceful. There have been constant protests against its particular forms of worship or socio-religious institutions. Some reformers have shown new paths or added new elements without coming into conflict with it. Others have opposed it and laid down new ways, and have moulded its later history. These were inspired chiefly by Upanisadic philosophy of oneness of God, universe and man.

2. JAINISM.

Historically Jainism was founded by Vardhamana Mahavira. (599—527 B. C.) He is called a Tirthankar.

Its character as a protest against Vedic religion.—Mahavira's religion was in certain respects a protest against some aspects of the Vedic religion, but in other aspects a development of Upanisadic principles and virtues, and their application to social and individual life.

His message.—From the age of 42 he began to preach his new religion. It was ascetic in its mode, method and ideal. He had gained complete self-control over his body and mind and became a teacher of many monks. He won a large number of converts, and continued to preach till his final Nirvana.

His teachings consisted of no object to be worshipped. A rigid discipline of body and mind is his way of life. His object was the conquest of the world (Jinapada) along with the self. He denied the existence of any Supreme Being, and therefore believed in no prayer to any deity, and in no grace of God. He said "Man, thou art thy own friend. A v v v best friend for

Who is a perfect Jaina ?—The perfect Jaina is he who is an ascetic, humble, inoffensive and unvindictive. "If beaten he should not be angry, if abused he should not fly into a passion, with a placid mind he should bear everything, and not make a great noise". One was not to attach oneself to anything and therefore there was to be no love or hate. It is only "by the teaching of true knowledge, by the avoidance of ignorance and delusion, and by the destruction of love and hatred, one arrives at final deliverance". Thus it was essentially a way of knowledge and a moral path. Its five great controls or Pancha Yamas are non-injury, truth, non-stealing, chastity and renunciation of wordly attachments or possessions. But it largely emphasised Ahimsa. The world consists of matter and spirit. The cause of misery is believed to be the embodiment of pure spirit of man in a material body. Therefore the body is to be suppressed for the sake of elevating and freeing the soul whose final aim is Moksha or Nirvana. Here all past Karma is annihilated and the individual soul is freed from all bodily bonds.

His Sangha.—Right knowledge, right faith, and right conduct are the three jewels of final liberation. Mahavira created a Sangha for his disciples into which all were admitted. But he did not start any new social organisation for his lay followers. It was not a social protest.

Its differences.—Jainism and Buddhism tried to look to the living problems of people at large. Upanisadik doctrines were difficult for the masses. Only definite and improved moral conduct was conducive to their secular and religious welfare. Therefore they emphasised the Nitimarga and neglected the subtleties of Jnana-marga and its absolute monism, but utilised some of its fundamental truths. They were against the Karmamarga of the Brahmanas which was an achara for a few only, and the dominance of the priests. They therefore started a new Nitimarga where all could join and pursue their social and religious welfare. It was more important in their own interests. Then they hated the sacrifices of animals and believed that no sacrifices could lead to salvation.

Its sects and numbers.—They have two sects, Svetambaras (white-clad) and Digambaras (sky-clad). There are now a number of subjects also. The total number of the Jains in the census of 1931 was 12 lakhs.

Mahavira is now worshipped.—Mahavira has now become himself an object of prayer and worship to his followers, possess-

sing all divine attributes. He is considered sinless and omniscient. They also worship the twenty three other Tirthankaras or holy men. Jainas have erected many architecturally beautiful temples at Ahmedabad, Ellora, Ajmere, Mount Abu, Kathiawar, and in the south. The statue of Gōṇaṭesvar Swami (60 ft.) at Sravana Belgola is the largest and a wonder in India, and was made in 980 A. D.

They are Hindus.—Jains venerate the cow, employ Brahmans, worship in Hindu temples, employ the Hindu law of inheritance and visit Hindu places of pilgrimage, and are in every sense Hindus.

3. BUDDHISM.

Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism are in one respect three differing phases in the evolution of modern Hinduism.

Gautama Buddha (560-480) B. C. was the founder of Buddhism.

His enlightenment and message.—He found a simple solution of the cause and cure of suffering. It was embodied in “four noble truths.” They are :—

1. All existence involves suffering.
 2. All suffering is caused by indulging in inherently insatiable desires.
 3. Therefore all suffering will cease upon the suppression of all desires.
 4. However, while still living, every person should live in accordance with the noble eightfold path. It consisted in right belief, right aspiration, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right endeavour, right thought and right concentration. This path was meant to lead men from the transient to the eternal, from sorrow to bliss.
- It is the most noble ideal preached. This is what is called the great enlightenment.

His teachings.—He preached an ethical but self-disciplinary system, a Nitimarga and a way of self-control. There was no necessity of a deity or its favour or worship, of priesthood or dogmas and ceremonies. The way of Nirvana or salvation lay within. He did not attach any importance to the Vedas or the

His followers.—He asked his sixty disciples "Go ye now out of compassion for the world for the welfare of gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way. Preach the doctrine which is glorious. Proclaim a consummate, perfect, and pure life of holiness."

His moral precepts.—He converted many by his preaching and example. "By hundreds of arguments and illustrations have I, in one way or another, gladdened all creatures." He asked them "Work out your own salvation with diligence." He laid down his Panchsilas for all. They are moral precepts emphasising non-injury, non-stealing, abstinence from evil indulgence and bodily passions, non-uttering of falsehood and abstinence from drunkenness. His Jataka stories contain various moral precepts and way of life.

He becomes an object of worship.—He was later on loved and worshipped as he was "so unequalled in the world, so mild, so kind, and held before him aims so high and endeavours so grand. A king of universal kings, a conqueror."

Its split into two branches.—After his death his followers got divided into two sects, (1) Hinayana and (2) Mahayana. Later came Vajrayana.

Hinayana.—The Hinayana was true to his teaching. He was considered only a teacher who showed a way of escape from misery, who did not indulge in speculations about religion. He only analysed misery, origin of misery, cessation of misery and way out of misery.

Mahayana.—The Mahayana made him God, who was sinless, omniscient, all-seeing, saviour of gods and men, and eternal. It idolised him.

His main teaching.—But his main teaching is the emphasis on moral character, and cessation of desire and not on status or heredity. "A man does not become a Brahmana by his family or by birth. In whom there is truth and righteousness he is blessed. He is a Brahmana." "The man who is angry and bears hatred, who harms living beings, who speaks falsely, who exalts himself and despises others, let one know him an out-caste."

His Sangha and discipline.—Caste was abandoned in his Sangha but the layman retained it. The monks or Bhiksus were prohibited from eating at forbidden times, from dancing, singing, music and spectacles, from garlands, scents, unguents, ornaments, finery, from high and broad beds, and from accep-

ting gold and silver. Its final emphasis was on leaving the world and its desires, forsaking children, wealth and kin. Its ethical ideal was to rise above both good and evil and to cease to think of it. These moral tenets were not new to Brahmanism but they were universalised and emphasised. The main ideas of Buddhism were :—

(1) The law of Karma, an impersonal principle of justice and moral retribution. One could escape from it by Buddha's way, only by self-exertion. No God or heredity would help.

(2) The law of transmigration.

(3) Nirvana or the state of highest happiness. Nirvana is " the dying out in the heart of the hell fire of the three cardinal sins ; sensuality, ill-will and stupidity ", according to Dr. Rhys Davids, and.

(4) The Sangha of its Bhiksus.

Its debt to Brahmanism and its influences on it.— There are about four lacs of Buddhists in India. Both Buddhism and Jainism are offshoots of the earlier religion and owe a number of doctrines and methods to it. They in turn have also influenced the rise of later or new Hinduism by their emphasis on moral aspects and not on the metaphysical or ritual aspects of spiritual life. They owe a good deal to Upanisadic thinkers and carry their doctrines in a moral way to the people as a personal discipline, a social outlook and human sympathy. They have modified later Hinduism by creating a new national ideal of worship and law in the Epics and Smritis, and by a combination of non-Aryan forms of beliefs and worship with the older creed in the Puranas. They have minimised the rigour of sacrificial systems and metaphysical doctrines, and given a more social and human outlook to the old conservative ideas.

No irreconcilable distinction.— It will thus be evident that there is no irreconcilable distinction between Hinduism and Buddhism or Jainism. Absence of any regular persecution of any religious sect, such as Buddhist or Jain, on the part of Hinduism also emphasizes the aspect of tolerance and their great similarity in various fundamental views of life and religion.

In the Jataka, Buddha himself says that his teachings are the essence of the Veda. He did not protest really against caste but against the Brahmanes, their monopoly of knowledge and their superiority. He carried the moral message of the Aryan civilisation to all classes.

enlightened life for their spiritual welfare. Here there was no distinction of castes. All were equal. Their goal of life was the same, Mukti or Nirvana. It is neither negation nor annihilation. It cannot be thought of or described. The Vedantist says "That existence which is beyond thought should not be made the subject of discussion." Similarly the Buddhist says "How is it possible to describe or indicate the Truth which is beyond speech." or "From where the speech returns" say the Upanisads.

The order is new. God and soul not believed.—The Buddhist order is a new organisation. Buddha was silent on the question of God. The Sankhyas and Mimamsakas had also no place for God. He taught the non-existence of soul. He said "There is rebirth of character, but no transmigration of a self."

Gautama was a Hindu and lived as such.—He believed that beings are reborn, that they migrate in the evolution of life, and that they are subject to the law of Karma. "True wisdom can be acquired by practice only. Practise the truth that thy brother is the same as thou, walk in the wholly path of righteousness and then you will understand that while there is death in self, there is immortality in truth." "The prevalent notion that Gautama was an enemy of Hinduism, and that his chief claim on the gratitude of his countrymen lies in his having destroyed a system of inequity and oppression and fraud is nothing but a great misconception. This is not the case. Gautama was born, and brought up and lived and died as a Hindu. There was not much of the metaphysics and psychology of Gautama which cannot be found in one or other of the orthodox systems, and a great deal of his morality could be matched from earlier or later books. Such originality as Gautama possessed lay in the way in which he adopted, enlarged, ennobled, and systematised that which has already been well said by others in the way in which he carried out to their logical conclusion principles of equity and justice already acknowledged by some of the most prominent Hindu thinkers."—Dr. Rhys Davids.

His practical application of Upanisadic doctrines.—The greatest achievement of Buddha lay in his practical application of the eternal truths of the Upanisadic religion. To the Vedantic speculation he added humanism and to the life of renunciation he added the path of service, which was only stated in Vedantic treatises. He did not emphasise the knowledge of God or soul, which had attracted men away from life. But he insisted on the right path of service (Karuna and Maitri) as a sure means for

preventing the life of meditation from lapsing into either mere intellectuality or morbid inactivity. He democratised the highest Aryan culture and brought it within the reach of all, irrespective of caste or creed, race or nationality. He joined his own great heart to the great Brahmana head.

4. SAIVISM,

As a supreme Deity.—Siva came to be accepted as the supreme Deity, as Mahadeva or Mahesvara, and a sect arose worshipping him and singing of him as the highest God. He is represented as Brahman in the Svetasvatara Upanishad where stress is laid upon devotion to him as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. Hara or Rudra becomes thus the sole sovereign. There is no second. He dwells within all beings. He also becomes a personal God with eyes, arms, face, and feet everywhere as stated in the Vedas. He is the infinite spirit, the all-pervading, the omnipresent Siva.

His three aspects.—In the epics he is represented as possessing various characters but is ultimately identified with the Absolute. Thus he comes to possess three different aspects. One is that of the supreme reality of religion and philosophy. The second is that of the highest god of personal devotion, and the third is that of the hero of mythological imagination in which his exploits, residence, his various ways of life amongst his immediate followers and with his wife, Uma or Parvati, and sons, Kertikeya or Ganapati, are described.

He is also the perfect Yogi and the ideal of all Yogis. He is the ultimate destroyer and regenerator or maker of all things. In the act of generation he is united with Uma or Parvati, or the Divine Sakti or energy, the mother of the world. The linga worship represents this aspect of generation of the world from two eternal principles of Purusa and Prakriti.

Essentials of his religion.—Essentials of his religion and morality are "Abstention from taking life, truthfulness of speech, compassion towards all creatures, charity, prohibition of adultery and theft". In this way he guards society and its well-being. In the Epics he is raised to or conceived in the highest position as the Mahadeva, the All-inclusive God. He is the highest truth, knowledge and joy. Him all devotees worship, and to him they surrender themselves completely. His grace or Prasada leads to salvation. Hymns of Saiva saints Tamil nayanmars (6th to 10th centuries) and Saiva Siddhantas give the

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Siva Saint's preach "Siva is hospitable to all. Even if a man is a Chundala, if he utters the name of Siva, converse with him, live with him, dine with him." "There is only one caste, and there is only one god."

5. VAISNAVISM.

The conception of Vishnu. Vishnu is conceived as the God and the guide of all moving and immovable world. He is the beneficent Deity. His benevolence embraces all mankind. The believer in him therefore trusts him and loves him with his heart full of devotion, reverence and humility. He is not only the refuge of the devotees or sages on the earth but of the Devas in their distress and defeats by Danavas whom he destroys or conquers in battle. He is essentially the god of good mind and heart. He is supposed to descend on the earth to destroy evil and to spread righteousness on the earth. His Descents or Avatars are said to be ten, amongst whom Rama, Krisna and Buddha are included as the seventh, eighth and the ninth. He is thus the God who is present as an actively beneficent power during the whole course of the evolution of the earth and its life. He is always engaged in a great war with the evil. He is the remover of all obstacles to the establishment and progress of real Dharma or evolution of the Universe.

His work as an Avatara.—He declares "When virtue and morality decline and sin and wickedness increase, I create rays of light and take my birth in the families of the good men. And assuming a human form, I restore peace by destroying all evils." The tenth or last Avatars of Vishnu will appear at the end of this age of Kali. It will be known as Kalki riding on a white horse with a blazing sword. He will destroy the wicked and establish righteousness. Thus the vigour and purity of the world will reappear.

His three aspects.—Thus Vishnu is contemplated in three aspects. One is that of the supreme reality of philosophy or knowledge. The other is that of the highest God of religion or devotion. The third is that of the hero of mythology and the great evolution of the Universe.

He is the soul of the Universe. He is the Brahman, the Absolute, the infinite self. He is the supreme person, protector and destroyer. He is the source of all life, light and knowledge. He forgives all and excuses all. He is the great liberator, the great teacher and great. The universe is the play

duct of his divine love and the sphere of discipline for man's fellowship with the most High.

Thus this supreme Deity is conceived with a motive of human service and world's welfare. He is the Purusottama, the best Purusa. Here there is no animal sacrifice. It is repudiated. This Deity is also known as Hari.

Its books and message.—The Bhagawat Gita and the Bhagawat Purana state the various aspects of this school of Bhakti. Salvation is promised to the devotees. "He who does My work, who is given over to Me, who is devoted to Me, void of attachment, without hatred to any born being, comes to Me."

"For the protection of the good,
For the destruction of the wicked,
For the sake of firmly establishing righteousness,
I am born from age to age."

"Whenever, O Bharata, there is decay of righteousness and there is exaltation of unrighteousness then I myself come forth."

"Whatsoever thou doest, whatsoever thou eatest, whatsoever thou offerest, whatsoever thou givest, whatsoever thou doest of austerity, O Kaunteya, do thou that as an offering to me."

"Abandoning all duties come unto me alone for shelter; sorrow not, I will liberate thee from all sins."

The Perfect Bhakta.—Lifted above all grief and desire, equalminded towards all creatures, the devotee knows his Lord in truth and enters into Him. Faithful in looks, he wants no reward. God helps him to conquer evil and leads him to salvation. Tamil Alvars were great Vaisnava saints (6th to 10th centuries).

6. VEDANTIC REVIVAL.

Śankarācārya.—It was under Sankaracarya, (788-820 A. D.) a Malabar Brāhmana, who attempted to revive the true knowledge of eternal reality and the true method of realising and understanding it, that the Vedantic revival first took place. He systematically studied, and expounded the spiritual truths embodied in the Upanishads, the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavad Gita and developed his theory of Advaita or non-dualism of soul. He emphasized the way of Jñāna or knowledge and not the way of devotion or service. He has influenced greatly the philosophical outlook of our people on worldly life. It is not one of active service but philosophic contemplation and detachment.

Rāmānujācārya.—Rāmānujācārya a Tamilian Brahman who lived in the 12th century has also contributed largely to the study of Vedānta as embodied in the treatises mentioned above. He propounded the view of Viśiṣṭādvaita or qualified non-dualism. That is, to the liberated soul, there is no loss of individuality but an eternal life of infinite joy in the union with the most high. He does not preach an absolute identity as propounded by Śankarācārya. Rāmānuja emphasized the way of devotion and service or Bhakti. His teachings influenced largely the later Bhakti movement in India.

Other ācāryas.—There were other great philosophers who contributed to this Vedantic revival. Madhvācārya (1199-1289) who was a Kārnataka Brāhmaṇa and Vallabhacārya (1479-1531) who was a Telegu Brahman advocated Dvaita or dualism and Shudhadvaita or pure monism respectively. All these philosophers founded schools and religious orders for the maintenance and propagation of their views and disciplines.

Their influence.—Their influence led to a cultural, intellectual and religious revival and renaissance in India, and kept the peoples' interest in the philosophical aspect of religion or spiritual life alive. Their views dominate the Indian intellectual mind even to-day. A number of philosophical treatises are written and keen discussions take place amongst learned men about these views.

7. BHAKTI MOVEMENT.

Its rise.—The Bhakti movements of medieval India are a direct growth of this philosophy and the Vaisnava or Bhagavata tradition. Their great books are Bhagavata and Bhagavad Gita. They discarded Karmayoga of the Mimamsakas, that is, the performance of the ceremonial rites according to Śruti and Śmṛiti, renounced all attachment to Karma, protested against the system of Jñāna of Śankarācārya, preached devotion to one deity and solicitude for the lower classes. Sudras and untouchables, but supported social castes and upheld the Sastras. They hold that God is full of love, that the human soul is a portion of the Divine, and that it will eternally retain its individuality, that men of all castes will get salvation by faith and Bhakti towards Lord, and that there should be a complete surrender to God (or Prapatti).

In them we find the early Gyāni or intellectual sage of pure contemplation and detachment becoming the Bhakta or

emotional saint of pure devotion and service. In their ideal was embodied both the divine Father and the human brother.

Ramananda.—It was the great Ramananda in the 14th century who spread Bhakti movement in Northern India. It took shape mostly in the worship of Rama and Krishna and utter devotion to them under local names and forms. It gave rise to a great devotional literature of songs and poems, of lives of saints and of adaptation of Ramayana and Mahabharata in the language of the people inspired by devotional touches of expression and moral tones of elevation.

Ramananda belonged to the Sri Vaisnava Sāṃpradāya of Rāmānujācārya. He, however, admitted all castes and untouchables into his fold. His motto was "Let no one ask a man's caste or sect. Whoever adores God is God's own." He proclaimed that all worshippers of Rama of whatever occupation or caste were equal in the eyes of God. Rama had boundless love for them He preached in Hindi and thus approached the people directly.

The whole Bhakti movement in Northern India largely owes its fervour to him. It arose under the influence of earlier Buddhist, Saivaite and Vaisnavaites devotional movements. His followers contained a barber, a Brahmana, a leather-worker, a Rajput, a woman, a Mussalman, etc. These men taught and sang from village to village and awakened a new religious enthusiasm amongst the people.

Kabir.—Kabir (1440-1518) was supposed to be Ramananda's disciple. He developed the same ideas and taught the same truths, emphasising however the unity of Rama and Rahim and trying to combine the Hindus and Mussalmans into one fold. He emphasised that Hindus and Turks were not of different families. His songs and poems are a common possession and are sung in all provinces. A sect called Kabirpanthis came into existence which believed in his teachings and followed his methods.

Vallabhacarya.—Vallabhacārya (1479-1531) propagated the Bhakti of Shri Krishna a little later than Ramananda. His fundamental doctrine was "Every sin, whether of body or soul, is put away by union with the creator." Knowledge and eternal devotion are the paths for liberation.

Chaitanya.—Chaitanya (1485-1527) preached the love of God Krishna and the way of Bhakti to Hindus and Mussalmans of all castes. He sang his emotional songs and spread his Vaisnava Sāṃpradāya in Bengal and Orissa. He made a missionary tour throughout India. He showed his devotion to

Visnu as well as to Siva, and his pure faith embodied a great ethical idea, where emphasis was laid upon compassion, truth, charity, humility and other gentle virtues. "Krishna's name alone washes away all sin." "Teach the lesson of faith in Krishna to all men down to the Chāndālas, freely preach the lesson of devotion and love," were his principal utterances. The lesson of Bhagavat Purāṇ attracted him greatly. The order he founded needed no priest. Men and women of every rank and caste, of every race and creed joined him.

Mirabai and Sur Das.—Mirabai and Sur Das (16th century) were also amongst the great devotional saints of Northern India whose songs in devotion to Krishna are very popular.

Narsi Mehta of Gujarat (15th century) was a devotional poet-saint who composed Radha-Krishna lyrics which are sweet and popular.

Tulsidas.—Tulsidas who lived from 1532 to 1623 A. D. represents the same Bhakti school of Northern India. He sang his devotion to Rama in his Rama Charita Manas in Hindi. It is read throughout Northern India and moulds the life of a large number of people. He preached that by abandoning oneself to utter loving faith in Rama's power to save, a man can escape from the weary round of perpetual transmigration.

"O merciful lord God, this is the boon we ask, that in thought, word and deed, without any variableness we may maintain devotion to thy feet."

He emphasises God's mercy and compassion to be real. He gathered no disciples, he created no sect, but his poem attracts thousands and lacs of persons who read it everyday religiously, whilst a large number listen to its emotional recitation.

Maharashtra Saints.—In Maharashtra the Bhakti movement is much older. It started with the worship of Vithoba or Krishna at Pandharpur. Its great early pioneers are Dnyanadeva and his brothers and sister, and Namadeva who all belong to the 13th century. There is a long succession of saints from this period to the 18th century in Maharashtra. Ekanath and Narsinha Sarasvati flourished in the 16th century. Tukarama and Ramdas are the most famous in the 17th century at the time of Sivaji. They came from all castes including untouchables and Mussalmans. The songs of Namadeva have found place in the Adigranth of the Sikhs. The Abhangas of Dnyanadeva, Namadeva, Ekanath, Ramdas and Tukarama are very popular, extremely devotional in their tone and moral and purifying in

their fervour. They mould the life of the people and keep them in a high state of religious and moral life.

Their life and ideals.—These great saints lived a life of devotion to God, service to man, and of control, morality and purity in their personal behaviour. Many of them are credited with miracles. They healed the sick, fed the hungry, lifted up the distressed. They moved throughout India as it was the practice of saints to do, and gave their simple message of faith and devotion. Namadeva says "In every heart and in all things uninterruptedly there is only one God."

Tukarama says "God is in him who calls the distressed and downtrodden his own."

In other parts of India, namely, in Bengal, in Gujarat, in Sindh, in the Punjab, we find similar Bhakti movements going on.

8. SIKHISM.

Guru Nanak its founder.—Sikhism would mean the 'religion of disciples' of the one True God. Guru Nanak (1469-1538) was its celebrated founder. His parents were common villagers. He preferred a life of meditation and religious devotion. Though married and had children he felt the need of retiring and passing his time under trees in religious contemplation. He kept company of holy men. At about 36 he received a Divine call. He was commissioned to preach. Religiously, politically, and socially the state of the country was bad as if Kali age had fully come. There was no justice, truth and toleration.

His message.—Nanak became an ascetic and preached "There is no Hindu and no Mussalman." He began his missionary journeys with Mardana, a Muhamimadan, as his companion to spread the gospel of discipleship of the one True God of all people. He visited many sacred places, Hardwar, Benares, Puri and others and after 12 years returned home. It is stated that he went to Mecca and other Muslim countries where he preached the Universality of God. He converted both Hindus and Muslims to his teachings. He repeatedly affirmed his faith in the one true omnipotent God. He is revered as a Divine Guru. Babar, the founder of Moghul dynasty, is said to have told him to ask from him some favour. Boldly answered the Guru, "Hear Babur Meer: foolish is the fakir who begs of kings, for God is the only giver."

His teachings.—One of his hymns is a good summary of his teaching.

" Leave the saints of every faith.
 Put away thy pride.
 Remember the essence of religion.
 In meekness and sympathy.
 Not fine clothes.
 Not the Yogi's garb and ashes.
 Not the blowing of the horn.
 Not the shaven head.
 Not long prayers.
 Not recitations and torturings.
 Not the ascetic way.
 But a life of goodness and purity."

" We claim brotherhood with all " said the Guru. " Again
 not caste nor birth is asked at the Holy House of God."

" Be not proud of caste. the whole creation germinated out
 of one Brahman."

His conception of God is " There is but one God whose
 name is True Creator. devoid of fear and enmity. immortal.
 unborn, self-existent. great and bountiful. The True One was
 in the beginning. the True One is. was and also shall be."

" The Lord is one. There is none other. my brethren.
 He is king. king of all kings."

" Many names may be used for Him on account of His
 manifold expectations."

The chief designation for Deity is Satnama. "The Name is
 the god of all gods."

His philosophy.—The world is considered to be transitory.
 Salvation consists in knowing God. " By God's grace, man
 obtaineth knowledge." There must be absolute submission.
 Meditation of God is to be done in the form of a repetition of
 "Satnama. There are no sacrifices nor idols. But there is the
 need of Guru: "without the true Guru, one shall not find the way."

The Khalsa Panth.—The new order of the Sikhs was known
 as (pure congregation). This organisation grew at the hands of
 successive Gurus and was greatly strengthened as a new religious
 order by the tenth Guru, Govind Singh (1678-1708).

They suffered extremely at the hands of Moghul emperors.
 and later on Gurus had to fight for the very existence of their
 panth. The Sikhs acquired hence a military character and
 organisation. By their martyrdom and bravery they spread
 the cause of their religion.

There are two sects—Nanak Panthis, who adhere to Nanak's quietistic teachings, and Khalsa Panthis, who adhere to those of the tenth Guru. The Sikhs believe in Karma and Punar-janma but reject caste, idoltary, ritualism, polytheism and asceticism.

It is an important sect in India. Its followers number about 44 lacs living mostly in the Punjab. Its central shrine is the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

What is Religion to Hindus.—Religion for the Hindu is a spiritual experience. It is consciousness of the ultimate reality not a theory about God. Man becomes aware of God through experience. Dr. Radhakrishnan says that this high vision of those who have penetrated into the depth of being, their sense of the Divine in all their exaltation of feeling and enrichment of personality, have been the source of all the noblest work in the world. These creative personalities who have initiated new currents of life have known God by acquaintance and not by hearsay. The experience is what is felt by the individual in his deepest being, what is seen or heard by him and this is valid for all time. The Veda is seen or heard and not made. India believes in the superiority of intuition or the method of direct perception of the reality to intellectual reasoning. Hindu thinkers affirm that the creative deeds, the inspiration of the poet, the vision of the artist, and the genius of the man of science are in reality the utterance of the eternal through man. In these rare moments man is in touch with a wider world and is swayed by an oversoul that is above his own.

There is a community and continuity of life between man in his deepest self and god. God is knowledge that will give light to the ignorant, strength for the weak, mercy for the guilty, patience for the sufferer, comfort for the comfortless. It is both absolute and god, impersonal and personal.

Hindu mind having accepted the idea of a comprehensive universal spirit does not think in terms of uniformity or conformity. There is no inflexible dogmatism. It believes in toleration as a principle of spiritual life. It is a duty not a concession. It has accepted within its fold all varieties of belief and doctrine and treated them as authentic expressions of the spiritual endeavour, however different or conflicting they may appear to be. The real is one, though it is expressed in different names. If each one follows his own path with sincerity and devotion he will surely reach God. Hindus showed great freedom in search after the spiritual. No one arrogated to himself

right or power to dictate to others in matters of spiritual life, and hardly any crime was committed in the name of God. No country can boast of so much freedom of thought, so much tolerance of beliefs and creeds, the most opposite or the most extreme.

Whatsoever view of God the Hindu may adopt he believes that the Divine is in man, that perfection is open to all and that all are members of the heavenly household. However low we may fall, we are not lost.

9. MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS.

BRAHMO-SAMAJ OR UNITARIANISM.

Four Renaissances.—India has known four renaissances during her long history, both cultural and religious. The first one was after the Buddhist reformation in the form of cultural and moral revival and synthesis of knowledge. The second one took place in the form of Vedantic revival under Sankara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka and Vallabha in the form of intellectual and philosophical revival. The third one arose after the contact with Islam in the form of the Bhakti movement of the poet-saints and mystics in the 13th and later centuries. The last one occurred in the 19th century after the contact with the European culture and science in the form of general awakening when reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Dayanand Saraswati studied and valued comparatively the knowledge of both the East and the West, and adopted historical and comparative methods of study. This last renaissance was a striking manifestation of the Indian mind and spirit. It initiated new forces and tendencies in the valuation of religion, culture, society and polity in India. All of them re-awakened the consciousness of the great Vedantic truth, namely, the deep unity of human nature beneath all differences of creeds and countries. This humanism-belief in the unity of mankind—was the grand discovery of these periods of Indian history, and its expression is the story of its culture, art and literature.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy.—After a contact with the West and especially with Christianity, Western science and philosophy, the religious mind of India began to study synthetically all the main religions of the world. The great pioneer of this movement was Raja Rame Mohan Roy a Bengal Brahmana (1772-1833). He studied Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and English. He tried to understand Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam and

also his own religion, Hinduism. He published Upanisads and Vedanta Sutras in Benagali, Hindi and English. It was his great aim to bring back people to the purity of ancient Hinduism. One of the way of doing this was the spread of education. He was against orthodoxy. He founded a Hindu college in 1819. He also took keen interest in social reform and participated in the agitation against Sati practice. In 1828 Brahmo Sabha was formed and in 1830 their first temple was opened where all were admitted. His idea of God was "The Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the author and preserver of the Universe." It was essentially an Upanisadik idea. Image worship and sacrifice were condemned. Other religions were not to be reviled. Education was intended to promote virtue and union between all creeds. Priesthood was not accepted but only direct communication with God. He died at Bristol in 1833.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy had felt convinced of the utility of modern knowledge. He adopted a positive and realistic attitude towards it. He was confident of his people's innate ability to understand, assimilate and develop this attitude and knowledge.

His search was for a universal religion which would be the common basis of the Hindu, Muslim, Christian and other faiths. He therefore expressed his faith in a new love of God and man on positive and universal lines. His was a universal humanism. His was a synthetic and universal point of view. His Brahmo Samaj was not established in opposition to the sublime ideas of Hinduism. He wanted to purify it by abolishing some of its superstitions practices. His was an appeal to rationalism and the needs of new age and new knowledge.

Maharsi Devendranath Thakur. Maharsi Devendranath Thakur (1817-1905) joined it in 1842. He inspired its work and continued to work on the lines of pure Hinduism.

Keshava Chandra Sen.—Keshava Chandra Sen (1838-1884) joined it in 1857. He was a very eloquent preacher. His teachings led to a break in 1865 because he was influenced greatly by Christianity. In 1866 he founded a new Samaj. The old Samaj was called Adi Brahmo Samaj and was guided by Maharsi Devendranath. Its observances are more akin to Hinduism especially that of the Upanisads. Keshava Chandra Sen visited Bombay and Madras 1864. As a result the Prarthana Samaj was founded in 1867 in Bombay by Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, M. G. Ranade, K. T. Telang and others. It has remained small and is now very little attended

In Madras Veda Samaj was founded in 1864. In 1880 another split took place and Keshava Chandra Sen's Navavidhāna or New Dispensation church was founded as different from Sadharana Brahmo Samaj.

Keshava Chandra Sen was a man of great devotional fervour. His message was one of love and faith. He was imbued with a spirit of catholic culture and aspired for a universal religion. He had however come under the influence of Swami Ramkrishna Paramahansa in about 1875, and had come to realise the truth that "All religions are true."

Keshava's chief aim (1879 to 1882) came to be to formulate a universal religion free from Hindu and Christian orthodoxy. In his earlier days he had made Christianity the central religion, but later in life he was also influenced by the emotional religious exercises of Vaisnavism. His was a selective eclecticism, a new dispensation, to which Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Vaisnavism contributed its essence or substance, which was the only truth in each of them. Different religions contain different standpoints of truth. He did not believe that there was only one true standpoint and that all other standpoints were erroneous. He wanted to view life from all standpoints, and therefore selected from each religion its distinctive essence and profounded a new dispensation. He believed as Ram Mohan Roy did in the unity of all religions. But by it he meant not the quintessence or collection of truths of religion but the unification of truths in one universal ideal. There was to be a unity and universalism in his eclecticism, a harmony and synthesis of faiths.

Sadharana (universal) Brahmo Samaj (1878) is the third section. It is the most advanced and rejects caste and advocates intermarriages. This movement has led to education and social reform. On the religious side the Brahmos protested against idolatry, polytheism, Sati, polygamy, strictness of caste and widowhood.

The Prarthana Samāj of Bombay aimed at rational worship and social reform.

J ARYA SAMAJ.

Swami Dayānanda.—Swami Dayānanda Swaraswati (1824-1883) was the founder of the Arya Samaj. He was a native of Kathiawar. At the age of 11 on a Sivaratri fast a doubt as to image worship rose in him. In 1845 he left home when he was pressed by his parents to marry. He took Sanyasa in 1848.

He continued his studies of the Vedas, wandered in India and held religious discussions with Pandits. In 1873 Arya Samaj was founded in Bombay and in 1877 in Lahore. In 1883 he passed away. His teachings are to be found in Satyarth Prakasa. It is stated that his Guru, Swami Virajānand Saraswati of Mathura, blessed him and missioned him "My son, go and put thyself at the service of the world : Vedic learning is fast disappearing, go and renovate it." Dayānand carried out the mission faithfully and tully. He recognised the Vedas as the only scripture and opened the study of the Vedas to all. He nationalised the Vedas, and asked the whole nation and also foreigners to take to the Vedas which is a source of true and eternal knowledge. It is a pure monotheism and rejects idol worship. In 1874 he published his Satyarth Prakash. He was a great preacher and reformer.

Its ten principles.—Lahore became a great centre of his followers and admirers. Here he formulated his ten principles which were :—

(1) God is the primary cause of all true knowledge and of everything known by its means.

(2) God is All-Truth, All-Knowledge, All-beatitude, Incorporeal, Almighty, Just, Merciful, Unbegotten, Infinite, Unchangeable, without a beginning, Incomparable, the Support and the Lord of all, All-pervading, Omniscient, Imperishable, Immortal, exempt from Fear, Eternal, Holy and the cause of the Universe. To him alone worship is due.

(3) The Vedas are the books of true knowledge and it is the paramount duty of every Arya to read or hear them read, to teach and preach them to others.

(4) An Arya should always be ready to accept truth and renounce untruth when discovered.

(5) All actions ought to be done conformably to virtue, i.e., after a thorough consideration of right and wrong.

(6) The primary object of the Samaj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual and social condition of mankind.

(7) All sought to be treated with love, justice and due regard to their merits.

(8) Ignorance ought to be dispelled and knowledge diffused.

(9) No one ought to be contented with his own good alone, but every one ought to regard his prosperity as included in that of others.

(10) In matters which relate to general well-being of the society he ought to disband all differences and not to allow his individuality to interfere, but in strictly personal matters every one may act with freedom.

In 1892 a split took place in the Samaj. One section advocated that only the ten principles are to be followed ; the other section insisted on Dayananda's opinions to be binding on society and on the use of vegetarian food.

Its good influence on the Hindu Society.—Arya Samaj has made great progress in the north. It is a proselytising form of religion, and wants to bring all within its fold. It has largely liberalised the Hindus who joined it. It carries on a vigorous educational, social and religious propaganda. It has established a large number of schools and colleges, where boys and girls, touchables and untouchables are all given education. It has no faith in a system of hereditary castes but in a system of classes or Varna according to quality and action. A number of social reforms are due to it, *e. g.*, monogamy, the raising up of the age of marriage, widow remarriage and others. It stands for Indian civilisation and culture, and India for Indians, and fosters pride in the mother-country. It is a great nation-building force, and is against Muslim and Christian conversions and has tried to take off the evils and lethargy of ages. A great impetus has been given by it to Hindu consolidation and conversion of others, and a great revivalism in Hinduism, which was supposed to be on its last legs, is due to it. It has thus generated a strong force of resistance to foreign religious propaganda amongst the Hindus and discomfited many a rival in dispute. Thus a check has been put to further conversions and losses from Hinduism.

✓ RAMAKRISNA MISSION.

Swami Ramakrishna.—Swami Rāmakrishna Paramahansa of Bengal (1833-1886) was religiously precocious. His mind was not of this world but desired to have a vision of God. Though married, his inclinations took him away to spiritual paths, and he was early initiated into Sanyāsa. His great search was to realise the unity of all religions and therefore, he tried to live according to different religions. He did not grudge to perform the lowest offices in life. Ultimately he saw the vision of God and realised the inner truth. Swami Vivekananda says "to proclaim and make clear the fundamental unity underlying all religions was the mission of my master." He left every religion

undisturbed because he had realised they are all part and parcel of the one Eternal Religion."

Rāmakrishna's endeavour was to experience the truth of each religion in its entirety or as one whole experience by following its course of spiritual discipline. He wanted to enrich himself with all human experience gained in religious life. In this Rāmakrishna differed from the position of Keshava Chandra Sen. He considered that the practices of each religion with its rituals and observances expressed its essence more really and vitally than its theocratical creeds and dogmas. He believed not in selective eclecticism but in syncretism, and stated that it was by the whole hearted acceptance of a religion that its full value or truth could be realised and experienced. He would love to be a Hindu with the Hindu, a Muslim with the Muslim, in order to experience the whole truth and efficacy of each of these religions. It is stated that he would not practice different religious disciplines at one and the same time, because each of them is organised to achieve its own spiritual experience.

Dr. Brajendranath Seal states that articles of faith, creeds and dogmas divide man from man, but that we must seek in religion a meeting ground of humanity. What we want is not merely universal religion in its quintessence as Raja Ram Mohan Roy wanted, not merely an eclectic religion by compounding the distinctive essences, theoretical as well as practical, of the different religions as Keshava Chandra Sen contemplated, but experience as a whole as it has unfolded itself in the history of man. This can be realised as Rāmakrishna taught by a syncretic practice of religions. All this was meant to be a stepping stone to the ultimate realisation of God-in-man and man-in-God, the great Vedantic truth.

Rāmakrishna did not think in terms of any Hindu Gods, rituals, scriptures or institutions. He did not preach any social reform, ethical code or religious dogma. He did not lay down any commandments and duties, virtues and vices for guidance. He did not give any political message. His mind was catholic and embodied a spirit of universal freedom. He had respect for others' life and experiences. The divers expressions of human life—the varieties of its secular and spiritual experience—constitute the manifold attempts of man to rise high. He believed in the divinity of man, in the dignity of man, in the equality of faiths, in the supremacy of reason and spirit, and in the emancipation of the mind from the matter. He represented the restlessness of the soul or spirit of historical India. But

he did not preach to everybody the need of renunciation of family, property or society. He wanted to be the guide and friend of all and to help them in developing their great human qualities so as to lead them to higher freedom and culture.

Swami Vivekananda (1862-1902) and a number of others accepted his teachings. Keshava Chandra Sen had also come to see him. His disciples spread his teachings beyond the ocean to the new world.

Swami Vivekananda.—Swami Vivekananda and his associates organised the mission of spreading the message of Rāmakrishna according to his teachings and rendering service to suffering humanity by way of medical relief, care and protection. Vivekananda represented India and lectured in America on Hinduism in the parliament of religions, and founded Vedānta societies. His preachings attracted one very noble soul, Miss Margaret Noble, who styled herself as sister Nivedita and worked in India till her death in 1911.

In 1897 he established Rāmakrishna Mission Association. In 1909 it was reorganised to carry on social service work—temporary in times of floods, fires, famines, epidemics and permanent in the nature of medical help and care in dispensaries and hospitals; educational work by way of schools, hostels, orphanages; and missionary work by spreading the spiritual message and teachings of Rāmakrishna in India and abroad. The mission has done very useful work in these countries.

Vivekananda's vigorous and inspiring character and teachings strengthened the spirit of nationality, social reform and freedom and Hindu civilisation. He died in 1902. His life was a great example of knowledge and service. He nursed the sick, cared for the suffering, and uplifted the miserable. He created a spirit of hope and energy in the country.

THEOSOPHICAL MOVEMENT.

Blavatsky and H. S. Olcott.—Theosophical society is not a sectarian movement but one for international brotherhood. It was founded by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel H. S. Olcott in New York in 1875. Its main object is to show that the development of humanity and the world is based on a Divine Plan of Evolution and all religions are manifestations of that plan, and that there can be no antagonism between them. Emphasis was also laid upon this truth that "Redemption of any nation should come through its own self-evolved leaders, not from without."

Their teachings led to the rise of respect and reverence for the indigenous religions and to a keen desire for a study of religions sympathetically. The result was a revival of religious outlook and a national sentiment amongst its followers. The society tried to show in its publications and lectures that religion and science were not antagonistic. This satisfied the doubts of inquiring minds. Men from all religions and castes joined it. They had not to loose their religions but on the contrary came to appreciate the best side of their own and others' religions. The hatred of one religion for another gradually diminished.

The society kept its headquarters at Madras (Adyar) in 1882, founded many schools and colleges in Ceylon, at Madras, in Benares and elsewhere. They have done a lot of educational work since then. One great revolution they effected was the the introduction of the study of religion in their educational institutions where persons of great purity and selfless lives worked.

Since Dr. Annie Besant's leadership its work has progressed rapidly. She has devoted her time largely to the study of Hinduism and its defence. The Society has taken part in the religious, political, social, and educational movements of the country and has been one of the factors in their progress and organisation. It is a brotherhood without the distinction of race, creed, caste, colour or sex.

In spite of all these stages in the growth of Hinduism and all the sects it has given birth to, it is not divided into watertight compartments. There is sympathy, toleration and communion amongst all because there is the spirit of eclecticism in it. There is no orthodoxy in the worship of a particular god. All gods are generally worshipped. At a place of pilgrimage a Hindu will worship the local gods and attend all popular celebration

19. ANCIENT TRIBAL RELIGIONS.

Tribal religions.—In India there still remains a large class of tribal religions or creeds which are non-Aryan and profess very primitive beliefs. Ghosts and spirits residing in objects or presiding over cholera, smallpox or cattle-diseases are believed to be required to be propitiated. Rude stones, bottoms of trees, serpents are representatives of these ideas. Their followers number about 83 lacs. Santals, Gonds and Bhils are a few of those who follow such beliefs. A caste punchayat enforces their moral code.

No fundamental opposition between sects.—The differences of Hindu sects are not so deep as to divide them into opposing camps. They have a common history and civilisation and form a distinct cultural unit in the world. Every religious tradition or experience wants to elevate a man's soul to God and is based upon a deep insight into the nature of reality.

Truth has many sides. Therefore there is toleration.—Each way of approach or worship has some truth in it. God manifests himself in various ways and truth or reality has many sides. Recognition of this fact has resulted in tolerance of one another. Each group or sect develops in its own way and reaches the truth by a course of its own discipline of mind and morals. Thus it is enabled to mould its life and traditions in its own way. Each sect however recognises that there is one highest reality to which every way is to lead. One need not quarrel about the way if it is leading to it. They do not believe in the monopoly of truth. Knowledge and realisation of the self (Adhyatma-vidya) are the chief aims of all Hindu religious thought. An individual reaches this perfection by his own personal struggles and discipline. God is considered to be within as well as everywhere. There cannot be one method of realising one's true self or God. Each type of individual must follow his own way under the guidance of a teacher who has reached the goal.

Every religion has a fundamental outlook and an ethical message which influence the relations of man to his neighbours and to his government, which mould his social ideals and personal beliefs and which decide his views on worldly life, his ordering of its various aspects and disciplines and his balancing of the higher and the lower loyalties amongst them. Thus religion influences man in creating a system of his ideas of rights and responsibilities, duties and disciplines, ideals and loyalties.

Hinduism believes in the spiritual as higher and the secular as lower. It recognises completely the freedom of human personality in developing its spiritual life and in following its individual instincts and reason and group behaviour and discipline. It acknowledges the multiple personality of man and classifies its individual character into threefold qualities of Satva, Rajas, and Tamas, its individual discipline into fourfold stages—student, householder, recluse, and sanyasi, its social activities into fourfold aims—dharma, artha, kāma, and moksa, its social grouping into fourfold classes—brahmana, kṣātriya, vaiśya and śudra and its religious ways into fourfold paths—in-

tellectual, devotional, ritual and moral. It recognises definite limits to the doctrines of freedom, equality, nationalism and democracy in the shape of character, capacity, wisdom and humanity possessed by individuals. It acknowledges the underlying unity of humanity and of all life, because of the sameness of the indwelling spirit behind it. Still it admits the variety and inequality shown by the different forms, stages and categories of that life during its course of evolution or growth.

In political relations Hinduism preaches the necessity of loyalty to a good government and believes in the discipline of self-government. But it does not recognise any idea or form of a totalitarian or theocratic or absolutist state. It puts Dharma or law above it. It acknowledges the need of resistance to tyranny and the removal or destruction of those whose actions and behaviour lead to perversion of social discipline and moral qualities of the people. In relation to neighbours of whatever faith or social group it inculcates among citizens respect and tolerance towards one another. It expects and encourages social service and security from all—the learned, the powerful and the rich which takes forms of public charities, endowments, and institutions (protectional, educational and medical) for the helpless, the crippled, the down-trodden and the weak of the community.

10. ZOROASTRIANISM.

“Ahura Mazda is light.”

“Purity is Law.” Avesta.

Zarathushtra its founder.—This religion was founded by Zarathushtra who flourished according to Professor Jackson between 660-583 B. C. It was driven from its home of Persia in 637 A.D. by Arabs. They converted the whole of Persia to Islam. A few of the Zoroastrians came and sought shelter in India in 717 A. D. at Sanjan on the western coast of India. They are known as Parsis, and number about one lakh and ten thousand.

Its teachings.—Ahura Mazda is the supreme Deity which is the power of light, life, truth and goodness.

“Ahura Mazda, the creator, radiant, glorious, greatest, and best, most beautiful, most firm, wisest, most perfect, the most bounteous spirit.”

He is all-seeing, all-knowing, friendly, the father of good mind, justice or right, beneficent, bountiful, according to Gathas, their religious books.

Conflict between the good and the evil spirits.—Zoroaster condemned the evil and impurity in the world. According to him there are two antagonistic spirits in the world—a good spirit and a wicked spirit fighting against one another. Their fight is continual. There are a number of smaller spirits working with the good spirit, and another set working with the evil spirit.

Fire as a symbol of Deity.—The Sun, moon, stars, fire, wind, waters, and mountains are also worshipped. The sun or fire is however regarded merely as a symbol of the great Deity.

They have a code of ceremonial purity which looks after the health of the people. Their worship consists of prayers daily and seasonal. There is no place for asceticism in it. Purity is very greatly prized and emphasised.

“Make thy ownself pure. O ! righteous man. Any one in the world here below can win purity over his self, namely, when he cleanses his own self with good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

Heaven and Hell.—Heaven is the reward for good thoughts, the glorious heritage of good thoughts. Hell is the punishment for the wicked. Thus there is an ultimate triumph of moral goodness assured.

Resurrection and final judgment.—It believes in a resurrection of the dead, and then the final judgment.

It does not show or advocate conversion at present. It is now a caste where birth alone entitles one to its ministrations. Parsis have lived most peacefully with their neighbours in India and are a very industriously, advanced and philanthropic community. They are a self-contained community. Originally they formed a branch of the Aryans called Iranians whose gods, worship and some practices resembled largely those of Indo-Aryans. Persians ruled a part of India in the sixth century B.C. and third century A. D. Some exchange of thought and art has taken place between India and Persia. Zoroastrians had come and stayed in India in early periods of Indian history. They are now mostly settled in the Western India.

11. JUDAISM.

“*I am holy and righteous.*” Jehovah.

Judaism developed from the belief that a personal deity had made a special divine revelation through an individual founder. It teaches that there is one supreme creator of the whole world. He is the God over all men. He is their ruler.

Its origin.—Its growth was due to Abraham. Moses and other prophets of Israel. It arose and developed in Palestine.

Its commandments.—It was Moses, (1200 B. C.) however, who established the people (Jews) and their religion in Palestine, and gave them the Ten Commandments— against idolatry and its worship, against God-swearing, killing, stealing, adultery, coveting other's property, bearing false witness, and for honouring the true god and father and mother, as being delivered by God Himself. He inculcated loyalty to God's commandments and emphasized the importance of individual and communal faith in a personal god or righteousness, named, Jehovah—the eternally existent. Their city, Jerusalem, was the city of righteousness.

Its teaching.—They developed later a strict idea of justice and morality and followed a rigid policy of exclusion, and intolerance. Their forms, ceremonies and orthodoxy increased and became elaborate. They overshadowed the spiritual side of religion. Still their central idea of God was that He is righteous, holy, loving, reasonable and not merely demanding submission or surrender, and their idea of the individual was that each person was morally responsible to God, and that righteous individuals alone fulfilled God's purpose in the world. "Be ye holy, for I Jehovah Your God I am holy." Judaism teaches finally a conception of God which disregards all barriers of race, space and time. He is considered omnipotent, all-seeing, all-righteous. He is the Creator, Ruler and Saviour of the world.

Its conception of ethical monotheism prepared the way for Christianity. The Jews also cherished the coming of a Messiah or a Anointed One of God who would deliver the world, and create a universal ideal social order. Jesus Christ claimed to be this Messiah. Later the Prophet Muhammad also made the same claim. A number of others have laid claim to that position. Some still believe that he is yet to come.

Its followers.—The Jews are scattered all over the world. They number about 11 millions. They have stuck to their faith inspite of enormous persecutions throughout ages. They are a virile and intellectual race. Most of them are engaged in commercial, financial and professional pursuits. In India they (called Bene-Israelis) number only 24,000. Like Parsis they are practically a closed group and receive no addition by conversion. They are mostly found in the Bombay Presidency and in Cochin, being divided into 'Black' and 'White' Jews.

12. CHRISTIANITY.

"Blessed are the pure in heart."

"Blessed are the merciful." Christ.

Jesus Christ its founder.—Christianity originated in Asia but its later development took place largely in Europe and through European efforts. Its founder was Jesus Christ. He is said to have lived from 4 B. C. to 29 A. D.

The priestly authorities could not tolerate his activities. He was arrested and sentenced to death by crucifixion by the supreme Jewish court. He was accused of calling himself the Son of God or the Christ. The Roman governor, Pilate, who considered his case, did not find fault with him morally but allowed his crucifixion legally. His teachings are highly moral.

His teaching.—The Sermon on the Mount beautifully summarises them. He taught, it is said, by parables, that is, short stories from life or illustrations from nature. He believed in a spiritual kingdom brought about through righteousness.

He preached the religion of love and service of God and men, and he has become one of the greatest personalities of the religious world and his followers consider him the most worthy representative of God and man. He is considered the Son of God and the Divine Person sent by God to save mankind. After his crucifixion and death he is said to have risen again. It is called his Resurrection. He cared for and served the poor and the sinful.

Sects and persecution.—It is split into a large number of sects differing in ideas of ecclesiastical authority and liberty of individual conscience and interpretation. Roman Catholics and Protestants are its chief sects in the West. There is also Greek Christianity and a number of other forms based on the interpretations of reformers and missionaries. These sects fiercely persecuted one another believing their own forms or interpretations as true. Great wars were fought amongst their followers. A number of inhuman massacres of opponents also took place in the past. But to-day the principle of religious toleration has been accepted out of political necessity.

The conception of God.—Christianity conceives God as one. One should love him with all one's heart and soul. He is considered to be all-seeing and all-knowing and is righteous, holy, merciful and just, and loving. There is a belief that the Kingdom of God will be completely established on the earth at some future time. God is also conceived to be a forgiver of men's

sins or wicked acts. Man is also asked to be forgiving and not to return evil for evil but good for evil. Jesus' famous utterance when he was crucified was "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." God is the father of mankind. He is loving and forgiving to the repentant and saves them.

Proselytising religion.—Jesus Christ and Christians accepted a number of conceptions and beliefs from Judaism, such as Last Judgment Day, Paradise and Hell. It is a great proselytising religion. The activities of its missionary societies have brought new ideas, education and outlook to a number of peoples. It has often allied itself with political power and helped the imperial ambitions of Europeans in various parts of the world. It has largely progressed under the British rule in India. Its importance has been to cause a change in the attitude of the Hindus towards the lower and depressed classes. Its missionary example has inspired Hindu reformers to go to the lowliest of the low and to give them happiness and higher status in society by educating them and showing them higher ideals of life and society. It has strengthened the feeling of equality and brotherhood amongst the people.

Christians in India number about 63 lakhs. There have been Nestorian Christians in India from early times. But their number began to increase from the time of the Portuguese who often used compulsion in conversion. Now there are a large number of foreign missions doing the work of conversion, education, medical and social welfare in India. The converts are increasing amongst lower and aboriginal castes and tribes where missions have concentrated their influence and propaganda. They have a number of institutions spread throughout India financed by European countries.

13. ISLAM.

"There is no god but Allah." Koran.

Muhammad its founder.—The word "Islam" signifies "submission" to God, and Muslims are "those who submit." This religion was founded by Muhammad who lived in Arabia from 570 to 632 A. D. He is called the prophet of Islam. He revealed the teachings of this religion in the sacred book called 'Al-Koran.'

His pledge.—He preached his new religion and gradually secured an increasing number of followers. They were asked to take a sixfold pledge "We will not worship any but the One God. We will not steal, neither will we commit adultery, nor

kill our children. We will not slander in anywise, nor will we disobey the Prophet in anything that is right." He built mosques for prayers which were to be done daily and on every Friday in congregation.

"My sole help is in God. In Him do I trust, and to Him do I turn me." "Trust in Allah. And Allah is sufficient as protector."

His message and teachings.—Muhammad taught :—

- (1) Belief in the One God, Allah.
- (2) Belief in the Koran.
- (3) Belief in Judgment, Paradise and Hell.
- (4) Everything is predestined by God.
- (5) Belief in His Prophets and Angels :—

Muhammad is the last and greatest prophet.

- (6) The persons whom God loves are :—

Those who do good.

Those who follow Muhammad, not the proud or boastful.

Those who believe and act aright.

Those who fight for His Cause, etc.

Daily duties of Muslims.—Every Muslim to have risen to perform the following duties.

- (1) Repeat the Kalima or confession of faith daily.
"There is no God but Allah, and a large number is the prophet of Allah."
- (2) Prayer to be done three or five times a day by facing towards Mecca.
- (3) Almsgiving. "When ye have taken any booty, a fifth part belongeth to Allah, and to the Apostle, and to the near of kin and to orphans and to the poor and to the wayfarer."
- (4) Fasting during the days of Ramzan.
- (5) The Haj or pilgrimage to Mecca :

where he is to circumambulate the sacred Mosque and to kiss the Kaaba or Black Stone seven times.

Two sects, Sunnis and Shias.—Muslims are divided presently into two sects, Sunnis and Shias, after the murder of 661 A.D. and his son, Hussein, at the battle Kerbela, 680 A.D.

There are a number of other sects, such as, Ahmadiya, Wahhabi (which is a puritanic sect), Sufi (which is a pietistic sect).

No idolatry and priesthood.—Muhammad emphasised the worship or approach to God directly and not through priests or images. He created an intense aversion towards idoltry. Wherever a man may be he can pray at stated times. He believed in work by every man and in facing the realities of life and not in loosing oneself in mere idleness or passive attitude towards life or in running away from the world.

Islam open to all. Muslims are equal.—Muhammad opened the portals of his faith to all, irrespective of race or colour. All were equal in the eyes of God. And he gave them an equal place in social organisation. The same law was to hold for all. This gave a higher status to backward and ignorant peoples. It was easily and willingly accepted by them as it raised them socially, morally and religiously. It was a simple faith with very little superstition and appealed to the instincts of hope, and ideas of reward and punishment of these peoples.

He valued a man who worked: "Those who earn honest living are beloved of God." "God is gracious to him who earneth his living by his own labour and not by begging."

He enjoined charity thus: "Charity is a duty to every Muslim. He who hath not the means thereto, let him do a good act or abstain from an evil one. That is his charity."

"Feed the hungry and visit the sick. Assist any person oppressed, whether Muslim or non-Muslim."

His idea of toleration.—"A perfect Muslim is he from whose tongue and hands mankind is safe." "He is not a Muslim who committeth adultery or who stealeth, or who drinketh liquor or who embezzleth, beware, beware."

"Go in search of knowledge even as far as China."

"He who believeth in one god and the life beyond, let him not injure his neighbour."

"Do you love your Creator then love your fellow-beings first."

"God is not merciful to him who is not so to mankind."

Influence of religion on secular life.—Muslim life is regulated by religion on all its sides, and in all its activities. Since heaven is to be reached from the earth, worldly relations and actions cannot be neglected or avoided. The Shariat or the

religious code shows the spiritual path, and also regulates the conduct of social life and supplies the legal code.

Thus it is not only in the mosque that religion is remembered and observed. It forms a part and parcel of the daily routine of life. It organises their spiritual and secular life, social and individual life.

Their number in India.—There are roughly seven crores and 76 lakhs of Muslims in India. Most of them are converts from Hinduism. Establishment of Muslim rule and Muslim proprietors of the soil gave a great impetus and a backing force to conversion.

Converts.—But amongst these converts a number of old practices and leaning towards ancestral traditions remain, for example, in the veneration of departed saints, in the help of Hindu astrologers, and so forth.

Shias.—Shias reject the first three Imams—Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman. They maintain that the spiritual and temporal power of the faithful was vested in Ali and his descendants through Hassan and Hussein. They observe the Muharram in memory of their martyrdom and conduct Tazias in procession which are representations of tombs of martyrs.

14. SUFISTIC INFLUENCE.

"All is He." "He is this. He is that."

Sufis are the mystics and saints of Islam. During the medieval period individual missionaries and preachers have wandered in India from place to place and spread Islam by their piety and religious zeal, their learning and teaching. From the 13th century we find their missionary activities well-spread. The name of Khwājah Muinud-Din Chishti whose Dargah is at Ajmer is famous. He was a Persian and was born in 1142 and died in 1236. The Prophet, it is stated, appeared to him in a dream and said "The Almighty has entrusted the country of India to thee. Go thither and settle in Ajmer." He obeyed the divine call and converted a large number of people to Islam.

Many of these missionaries were revered as saints and their example and teaching led to many conversions. A number of them established hermitages all over the country during the 14th century and thus influenced the country people. In the Deccan in the 14th century we find the famous name of Sayyid Muhammad Gisu. Darāz whose tomb is at Gulburga. Most of them felt that they were inspired by a divine call to do the missionary

work in India. Much of their success is attributed to their miraculous powers which affected the minds of the simple and credulous. They also impressed the people with their own simple message of unity in religion, equality in social life, and purity in personal behaviour. Sufi saints gave mystic interpretations of their religious experience and attracted emotional and inquiring minds in search of reality. They have also helped in the spread of Islam in its higher aspects in India during the middle ages.

Muslim mystics first developed and settled in Sind which became the home of Indian Sufism. There is a great similarity between Sufistic doctrines and some aspects of Indian Bhakti-marga and Jnanamarga. Hence they attracted and influenced the Indian mind. Their ideas have spread in the country greatly through their poetic compositions which appeal to the heart and satisfy the hankerings of human soul for the great beloved God of the devotees and mystics. Sufis have been men of piety, learning and spiritual experience. Their lives have been simple, human and tolerant. There soon developed a number of Sufistic orders with their different practices of religious conduct. Abul Fazl mentions fourteen orders which were common in his time. From amongst them which we know to-day are the Chishti and the Suhrawardi, the Qādiri, the Shattāri and the Naqshbandi orders.

Lal Shahbaz in the 13th centry, Shah Abdul Lateef (1690—1752), and Sachal in the 18th centry are the great Sufi saints of Sind. They felt the call from within—the urge of spirit. They liberalised the rigidity of Islam in India and paved the way for Hindu-Muslim unity. Sufis do not recognise any external authority but only the urge of love and spiritual experience within. They are broad-minded and tolerant. Sind Sufis refuse to call themselves either Muslims or Hindus. To them the truth is one, the Beloved is one, why fight over names, They are independent in thought and action, and opposed to intolerent priests and autocratic rulers.

Their philosophy is the result of direct experience. They believe that human soul is an emanation from God and that he is always seeking and yearning to rejoin the source from which it sprang. Absorption in the Divinity is the ultimate object to be attained. The Punjab had also great Sufis, such as Khwaja Hassan Nizami, Bulashah and Mian Bahu.

Sufism inculcated a devout and mystical yearning for union and fellowship with God. It is stated that about two-thirds

of Muslims in India are under the influence of these orders whose aim is to effect the union of man's soul with God. A Pir is the head of such an order. He is its spiritual guide. His disciples are called Murids. He is a holy man or a pious saint by his religious conduct and spiritual or mystic experience. He initiates his disciples into the fraternity and the mystic path, and orders and guides their travel on it. There are regular disciples who are directly connected with the order. They either dwell there or go on travelling for collecting alms. There are also secular or lay disciples who are engaged in their daily occupations in towns or villages and give alms and loyalty to the regular fraternity.

The belief in saints and the worship of their shrines and tombs, play a large part in the religious life of Muslims in India. Puritan Muslims do not perhaps approve of this, but for the masses saint-worship is a spiritual consolation and reality. Pirs or saints are expected to possess miraculous powers and to grant their prayers, fulfil their desires and perform miracles. They believe that the spirit of the saint is present in the tomb and that he will hear their prayers and intercede with God to grant their requests. This devotional side of Muslim religious life has influenced the common people very greatly, and made their life human and tolerant.

✓ 15. MODERN MUSLIM MOVEMENTS.

WAHHABISM.

Wahhabi puritan revival.—In 1820 there was a Wahhābī revival in India under Sayyad Ahmad of Rae Bareilly (1782-1831). The Wahhābī sect was a puritanical movement started by Muhammad Abdul Wahhāb during the eighteenth century in Arabia. Its aims were a renewed emphasis on the unity of God, the right of the individual to interpret the Qurān and traditions and the rejection of the four orthodox schools of Canon law; the opposition to the worship of saints, and an earnest effort to remove non-Islamic practices of Hindu converts to Islam. It wanted the moral, religious, social and political revival of Islam and its rise to power in India. Sayyad Ahmad wanted to free Islam from its abuses, corruption and degradation in India. He also preached the necessity of a holy war because India was not a Dār-ul-Islām (House of peace) but a Dār-ul-Harb (House of warfare), being under the rule of a non-Muslim power. Many respectable Muslims adopted his ideas. These reformers were revivalists and wanted the early purity and freedom of Islam.

They were opposed by the orthodox Maulvis and others who were traditionalists and were dubbed as Wahhabis, who, in return, called the orthodox as polytheists. They organised themselves for holy warfare but failed. They had a good missionary organisation and many adherents. Some of them preached the necessity of emigration (hijrāt) to lands under Muslim rule and carried on their agitation all over India. It is believed that the great revolt of 1857 was partly due at least to a recrudescence of this spirit which sought to re-establish the Mughal rule. Though they failed and suffered, the result was the general Muslim apathy and hatred of Western rule, institutions, education and culture. Orthodox Maulvis inveighed against the institutions and culture of the infidels. Muslims did not avail themselves of the new learning and new opportunities afforded by the new government. They kept themselves aloof and isolated.

ALIGARH MOVEMENT.

Sir Sayyad Ahmad's reform movement.—This isolation and apathy was broken by the efforts of Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan, (1817-1898) who preached reason and reconciliation. He gave a new message and hope to Indian Mussalmans. The condition of Muslims was poor and depressed. Their religious leaders were against Western culture and education, against its rationalism and individualism. Sir Sayyad advocated changes in their political, religious, social and educational outlook. He suggested the harmonising of Muslim culture and Western science and progress. He pinned his faith in education on Western lines as the instrument of regeneration and renaissance of Muslims. He was a religious reformer and wanted the simplicity and sanity of early Islam. He denounced the superstitions and bigotry which had later on developed. He wanted them to learn the arts and sciences of Europe. He thus awakened the community and brought about their moral and intellectual regeneration by the establishment of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875, in spite of a great orthodox opposition. He wanted to train young men of character and capacity in all that is best in occidental and oriental learning. He was a great advocate of social reforms such as the abolition of pardah, the education of women, interdining. He applied the test of rationalism, but advocated reform with caution. He discriminated between religion and society, and he expected social reform to proceed without affecting Islam. His paper 'Social Reformer' in Urdu revolutionised Muslim India. It dealt with religious, social and educational subjects. He was helped by such

men as Nawab Mohsin-ul-mulk and Maulvi Chirag Ali in a free and courageous spirit. They asked Muslims to improve their character and customs and aim at national ideals.

His views on Hindu-Muslim unity.—Sir Sayyad realised the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity. In 1894 he stated “we (i.e., Hindus and Muslims) should try to become one heart and soul, and act in union; if united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both.” “In the word nation I include both Hindus and Muhammadans because that is the only meaning I can attach to it.” He believed in looking forward and not backward. He created a new progressive, rational and utilitarian outlook in his community. He kept loyal to the British during the Mutiny, and converted his community to his views of education and co-operation. He advocated the study of Western sciences and learning and appreciated its truth and wisdom. He preached social reform.

Hali's inspiration.—Muslim community has also been awakened into a new life and a need of religious, social and educational reform in the last quarter of the 19th century. It got a tremendous fillip from the poetry of Altaf Hussain Hali, (1835-1914). He pointed out the faults and short-comings of the Indian Mussalmans in his *Musaddas* in 1879 which were six-line stanzas on the ‘Ebb and Flow of Islam’. It was under the influence of Sir Sayyad Ahmed that he turned his attention to the spiritual uplift of his co-religionists. The result was the above long poem. It is a glowing account of the former glories of Islam, a lament over its decadent condition and a clarion call to reform. It had a great effect. The spirit of reform is also shown in his short poems about women. A number of Anjumans or societies have arisen for serving the various needs of the community. There is also a powerful Muslim press which helps the progress and guards the interests of the community.

Women's awakening.—The spirit of reform is also noticeable amongst Muslim women. There have been annual sessions of All-India Muslim Women's Conference since 1914, which discusses their social, educational and political problems, such as polygamy, purdah, divorce, suffrage.

✓ AHMADIYA MOVEMENT.

Ahmadiya revival movement.—Ahmadiya movement was started by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1839-1908) at Qadian, a small town in the Gurdaspur district of the Punjab. He declared him-

self to be the promised Mahdi (Messiah) and soon collected a large following. He deplored the popular worship of saints and professed himself a true reformer. He wanted to restore the true and pure faith of Islam. He protested against the rationalistic and historical interpretation of Islam. As regards social reform he sided with the conservatives, defended purdah, and advocated the Islamic view of divorce and polygamy. He was thus against every attempt at change to suit the modern requirements. The orthodox Muslims however opposed his spiritual claims and propaganda and his organised sect. In 1914 a split occurred in the community. A group headed by Khwaja Kamaluddin and Maulvi Muhammad Ali formed the new Lahori party. The original group was named the Qadiani party which emphasized the point that the founder of the community must be regarded as a prophet (Nabi), while the Lahori party took him to be only a reformer (Mujaddid) in Islam.

16. THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN NATIONAL LIFE.

Three ways of looking at religions.—There are three ways in which men have looked at religions. One is that all are true. The second is that every religion is partially true and emphasises a particular aspect. The third is that only his own religion is true. We are not required to pass a judgment on these three propositions. Our view is that at their best all religions approach one another, that every religion is largely born of the environment, that it is mostly a reform of the old abuses and vices in social, moral, and ceremonial forms, and that those religions which recognise toleration have a great place in the progress of the world. The conflict of religions and sects has in modern world to be transcended and more emphasis is to be laid upon good moral life and real spiritual life. A system of good education in science, history, ethics and philosophy alone will help this movement forward, and will bring real benefit to humanity.

Perversion of religion.—Dr. Rabindranath has stated that common religion of a universal pattern to which every act of worship and aspiration must conform is not possible for mankind. Religion is not a mere idea but an expression. When a religion develops the ambition of imposing its doctrine on all, it degrades itself into a tyranny and becomes a form of imperialism. When religions travel far from their sacred sources they lose their original dynamic vigour, and degenerate into the arrogance of piety, into an utter emptiness crammed with irrational habits

and mechanical practices. Then is their spiritual inspiration befogged in the turbidity of sectarianism, then do they become the most obstinate obstruction that darkens our vision of human unity.

All through the course of human history it has become tragically evident that religions whose mission is liberation of soul have in some form or other ever been instrumental in shackling freedom of mind and even moral rights. It has been the saddest experience of man to witness violation of the highest products of civilisation, to find the guardians blessing the mailed fist of temporal power in its campaign of wholesale massacre and consolidation of slavery. The attempt to make the one religion which is their own dominate all time and space comes naturally to men addicted to sectarianism.

Value of religion.—Every religion is a sort of moral culture suiting the peculiar circumstances of the respective times. All religions are complementary to one another, and all the individual doctrines of all individual religions are to be understood in a spirit of partnership and co-operation. Religion gives men confidence in certain fundamental values of life and saves them from gloom, despair, cynicism and urges of lower self. It gives the spirit and fixes the goal of life. It deals with problems of good conduct and self-control.

Religion is a guide to the understanding of personality—essence of person, and reality—essence of the world or creation. It also deals with the problem as to how to know it, to realise it and to develop it.

It developes a sense of personality and freedom, creates a sense of duty and responsibility, a sense of what is higher and lower, right and wrong, good and bad, produces a sense of unity, brotherhood and service, inspires a sense of toleration, joy and peace, compassion and friendliness, a sense of indifference, detachment, and desirelessness, deals in universal values, truths and outlook. It gives light and is an inspiration to right living, service, charity and tolerance.

Use of religion.—Religion in its most developed aspect inculcates a certain adherence to what is admitted as the highest and most valuable perfection of human life. It does not deal with what is purely material or economic, emotional or rational. It modifies the worldly, narrow, selfish outlook and views it from higher regions of truth, idealism, humanitarianism and spirituality. Religious institutions give concrete shape to such higher outlook in the form of doctrines and ceremonies,

and rules and regulations of individual and social life. They are imposed on individuals and families from without so that their course of life may easily lead them into higher realities of human existence.

Nation and religion.—Nation is a limited idea. In relation to family, caste or tribe it is a higher unit, but in relation to humanity or universe it is a narrow group. Life we know does not end with aims and limits of a nation. It crosses its political, economic, intellectual and moral boundaries. It extends to humanity and aims at reaching universe and its reality. Therefore religion has a place in national life because life does not end with nation. Religion gives a definite theory of the Universe or a world view. There are things other than and higher than a nation or national life. Man has various aspects and aspirations, bonds and interests which are universal and lead to ultimate realities. Therefore it is one of the needs of good or ideal life to know what is higher life or beyond life, and with its help to lead or to reform our daily lives. Religion has helped in realising the conceptions of oneness of life, of peace, toleration and service as the daily necessity of man. It has led not only to individual saintliness but also to social betterment. It has made a human being understand his place in the universe and the value of his group or nation as an ideal or organisation. Thus religion gives a view and a vision of a perfected reality or rationality and embodies it in rules of conduct which mould and transmute our daily life. It creates and sustains faith in and moral fervour for the essential values of life, coming as they do from the depths of the soul. This spiritual outlook of religion is a necessity in our life. It helps society not only to look around and beyond its narrow interest, and makes it realise the interdependent aspect of secular and spiritual life. Differences to be seen in the world are co-ordinated into harmonious whole under its transcendental outlook, and virtues, such as tolerance, peace, patience, serenity and self-control receive sanction and reality. Just as universe is viewed as a whole, similarly every man is valued independently and his dignity and worth recognised. Thus man is visioned as divine, and a true citizen as divine servant who should use and employ his powers for the harmony and development of all. The national conception of a citizen being a mere tax-payer or voter has to be given up under the influence of religion which makes him a divine agent possessing definite functions and duties towards a society and humanity in ennobling their life. The work amongst the lowliest of the low, in hospitals, prisons, slums,

battlefields, is an inspiration to service born of religious mentality and morality. Similarly the noble tone in all work is its result. It makes for good life and full life which a true citizen must lead or try to attain.

The principle of religious toleration. The conception of religion is not one but many. Its tenets and practices have differed in different countries and with different persons and their followers. Different religions have quarrelled with and persecuted one another thinking their own forms and expressions to be true and divinely sanctioned or inspired. This attitude instead of creating harmony and peace in the world has led to bloodshed or forcible conversions. The problem of religion being concerned with transcendental things has been stated in different ways by religious founders who were inspired to solve it. Their followers not seeking the inner spirit but seeing the outer forms indulged in intolerant attitude towards other forms. But religion, if it is essentially anything, must possess a spirit of toleration and love and service of all and cannot consist in mere observance of forms and ceremonies. Toleration of other's religious opinions is not only a neighbourly necessity or a utilitarian doctrine but a true religious attitude or principle. In India this principle of freedom or toleration of religious opinion was very early recognised. It grew with the religious life and experience of the people. The great king Asoka has expressed it in one of his great edicts. In India it became embodied as a living principle of people's life, and thus averted religious conflicts and wars, and left the people to follow one opinion or another according to their choice and conviction. Jews, Christians and Muslims did not accept this principle. As long as there was one religion in the country and there were no sects in the same religion—protestants or heretics—there was peace and toleration in the country. But a rise of new opinion in the country or a contact with different religions in a career of conquest brought conflicts, because uniformity of religion was lost.

Modern state and religion.—In modern times no one country is inhabited by persons of one religion and one opinion, and therefore in order to live peacefully for their political, economic and social welfare people must accept the principle of religious toleration whatever their old notions and practices may have been. True religious spirit and necessities of national life require the acceptance of the principle of religious toleration and an adherence to it. Those citizens who are against it are neither religious nor national nor human. India is a country full of all religions and there those who do not accept and follow this princi-

ple are the enemies of religion, morality and humanity. They retard and kill the growth and life of the people. No state can tolerate religious intolerance. Freedom of religious worship is a *sine qua non* of modern life. Medieval conceptions of intolerance must be suppressed. All higher life and thought points to it.

The problem of conversion.—The problem of conversion in India is a very ticklish and touchy one. but it is also civically a dangerous one. Mahatma Gandhi and other great leaders are against systematic mass conversions from one religion to another. Personal conversion out of real conviction may be allowed. But very few conversions have taken place in that way. Most of them may be originally traced to force and fear, lucre and lure. It is some worldly advantage or fear which has played a large part in it.

Its evil results.—There is also the factor of ill-treatment and unequal treatment which some suffer in particular communities which has led to a change of faiths for better and equal treatment. Conversions in India lead to attempts at reconversions. Both create bad blood and hatred amongst various communities and citizens. Then the methods employed are so subtle and insidious that the whole fact if not the conception of conversion is not merely morally but spiritually hateful. The organised missions are doing not so much religious work as political work in increasing the followers of their faiths. To-day in India the game of conversion has become more political than otherwise. The higher conception of Indian Citizenship demands a strict law against conversions of this kind, as Russia has done. It will stop a lot of mischief of capture of children and abduction of women which is sometimes justified in the name of religion and stop hatred and distrust amongst fellow citizens.

CHAPTER VI.

Our Social Life.

"All men think social justice to be a sort of equality."

Aristotle.

"Justice is treating others according to their deserts."

Aristotle.

Indian social institutions.—Social life of a people is expressed and organised in their institutions, customs and beliefs. Indian life has a variety of these. They are deep-rooted in the minds of the people. They have originated and developed in the past and they express to-day the main features of the Indian social life. Under various influences they show changes which they have undergone and may undergo. It is necessary in our study of citizenship to know a few important of these institutions, customs and beliefs and their influence on our civic life. Hindu social life of India is largely dominated by the institutions of Varna and Jati, and the joint family. These are very old institutions and are supposed to be based on Vedic sanctions.

1. VARNA.

Conception of Varna.—Varna originally meant colour but as a social term it meant an order or class. Its origin can be traced to the Vedas. This Vedic origin was taken as a sanction for the permanent classification of society on a fourfold basis by Manu and other lawgivers and was rigidly followed by our society. The Varnas were really the classifications of worldly occupations of man which are necessary for the well-being of society. Teachers and priests were called Brahmanas; rulers and administrators, Ksatriyas; farmers, merchants and bankers, Vaisyas; and artisans and labourers, Sudras. These vocations were followed by people according to their ability and status. But they according to the Varna theory were not confined to any group of persons. Merit or liking alone entitled a man to follow a particular profession. Bhagavadgita emphasised this interpretation of Varna theory. To each Varna a principal occupation a number of groups of persons or Jatis were later to attach themselves, considering the following of any other occupation as prohibited or degraded work.

This led to the subsequent identification of Varna with certain Jatis and not with others, though originally it was not so. This disappearance of Varna theory based on the colour or kind of work or its merging into the Jati theory based on birth and boycott created the foundation of the new Hinduism which is rigid in its social institutions and customs.

2. JATI.

Conception of Jati.—Jati means a group of persons kindred in origin and maintaining marriage and food relations. Such Jatis have been numerous in India from ancient times. Particular Jatis followed one or other of the Varna professions and would not follow any other. Sentiment and tradition were gradually created that it was either a degradation or a prohibition to follow any other profession than followed hereditarily. Thus the early freedom of choice of occupation soon disappeared under a growth of new customs or Sastraic injunctions and the freedom of Varna theory was replaced by the status or bonds of Jati theory. Change of profession and status was not allowed. There was no scope for the development of man. In Vedic times the Varna was not a hereditary caste. Though differentiation of functions was recognised they were not allotted to definite Jatis or hereditary castes. Brahman did not mean a hereditary priest. Yajana (officiating at sacrifice), Adhyapana (teaching), Pratigraha (acceptance of gifts) were practised by non-Brahmanas. Change of Varna was possible. A number of professions could be followed by the same person.

Rise of the Jati theory. Varna idea merged in Jati.—But gradually the Jati theory rose. Certain Jatis alone could follow a particular Varna occupation, that is. could be Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas or Sudras. No interchange of professions and acquisition of higher status attached to those professions were possible in this birth. Each of the Varnas or professions came to be regarded as of a higher or lower status. The Brahmana profession was put the highest in importance and status, that of Ksatriya next, that of Vaisya after that, and that of Sudra last. Those who followed the first came to be regarded as the highest and similarly those who followed the others were considered next in importance according to the stated order. Thus from early times after the Vedic period we see that there were not four Jatis but a number of Jatis, each of which was attached to one of the four Varnas and when a Jati was not allowed to change its profession, the profession

itself came to be considered as belonging to particular Jatis and not others, and thus Varna became identified with Jati. Brahmana, a profession, became Brahmana, a Jati or caste. This change is visible in the period that followed the Vedic period. Jati originally did not depend on any profession. It was based on kinship, real or fictitious, wherein exogamy and endogamy prevailed founded on a system of Gotras and Pravaras which were names of first ancestors and their prominent descendants. Marriage and food relations were later regulated on their basis. Intermarriages and interdining did take place in early times between different Jatis but the restriction was that higher Jatis could take women from lower Jatis which was known as Anuloma system (Hypergamy). Pratiloma system (Hypogamy) was not recognised as legitimate, that is, a man of the lower Jati could not marry a woman of the higher Jati. If such a union took place both the persons were punished, boycotted and degraded into new lowest Jatis which were considered largely untouchable.

Origin of Jati.—The Jati idea is based on birth and must have arisen out of the notion of purity of blood and colour and the sameness of religious and social customs and conceptions. It cannot be considered to be a normal development of the enlarged family, because each Jati includes different but allied families; nor can it be taken to be identified with a particular economic occupation, because the members of one Jati do not and did not follow the same profession. Similar social and religious customs and conceptions united allied families into Jatis. Later on they gradually came to confine themselves to particular economic pursuits or professions according to the needs of times. Then these Jatis split into subcastes when occupations came to be graded into higher or lower, and when they led to some change in common traditional conceptions and customs. Differentiation in customs and ceremonies has been a great factor in maintaining the aloofness or sub-division of Jatis. The other factor has been the ideas of purity of blood and colour. Thus Jati is mainly an idea of purity in food, marriage and ritual. It was a defensive weapon against deterioration of colour and conflict of customs or ideals of conduct. Those Jatis which followed Brahmana occupation may have led in this distinction and aloofness of Jatis and rigidity of profession. They were the guardians and teachers of Aryan culture, and others may have imitated them in this process, each Jati and profession thinking itself superior to some others in some respects. It was distinctly seen that incorporation of

alien races had led to deterioration in speech, customs, colour and ideals. Hence arose the apathy towards intermarriages in order to preserve the purity of the highest Aryan culture. This may be seen in the restrictions about the study of the Vedas.

Multiplicity of Jatis.—The principles which differentiated castes were primarily those of kinship, endogamy or purity of blood, and similarity of customs and ceremonials. These groups split and multiplied when people settled in new territories which were considered unholy or not fit to be inhabited by the Aryans, and where their practices, customs and professions were likely to change. The old groups which had remained behind would look down upon these new groups because of their outlandish behaviour, speech or customs and professions. There was also an addition to the number of castes when new races came and settled in the country, and though they gradually adopted local customs and professions their foreign birth was a bar to their admission into the orthodox folds of similar castes. Further, violations of customs and usages led to the social boycott or degradation of persons who consequently formed new castes. Then the formation of guilds or associations of merchants and artisans for economic purposes led to the identification of a Jati with a profession, and thus to the formation of a close corporation or a separate caste of those who followed a particular trade or occupation. The rise of new religious sects or schools added to the number of castes by splitting the old.

Causes of disintegration.—These forces have been moulding the structure of Hindu Society for the last two thousand years or more. There has been no strong religious or political influence which would have unified these groups. Religious philosophies discussed and propounded eternal problems and did not deal with worldly and social interests. Want of a strong central government, absence of ideas and systems of centralisation and unification, and the weak position of the king as the legislator or moulder of society prevented the use of political power for uniting the people into a more harmonious whole.

Work of reformers and emperors.—Reformation of Hindu social organisation was not generally the aim of Hindu religious reformers and political emperors. The early ideal of a four-fold division of society was not even striven for. Union of subcastes and castes was hardly accepted as a working ideal and attempted. The factors which unite men permanently in one mould were absent. Religion and religious tradition instead of uniting all groups sanctioned this system of castes.

There was no national ideal, nor any national feeling was created and fostered. The large extent of the country and defective intercommunication tended to maintain the special characteristics of various races and their various customs, modes of speech and association. Before any common danger could rise which would unify the people, castes had taken a firm root and in turn prevented the rise of a common feeling. Religious reformers looked to other-worldly affairs, and though they condemned the caste system religiously, they did not work for its eradication socially. Contact with the aborigines and peoples of low blood and culture encouraged pride of blood and culture. Ideas of orthodox views of ceremonial purity led to the employment of less civilised or defeated races in occupations of manual labour. The doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma created and strengthened the ideas of the status in society. The spirit of the whole Brahmanical system strengthened these tendencies. Intermarriage and interdining came to be considered as leading to Varna sankara or confusion of functions or castes and consequently to hell. A religious terror was created round about them, and the Pandits and people stuck to them. The political authority or king who could have promoted unity was enjoined upon as his chief function the maintaining of the various castes and groups in the path of their duties and the prevention of their transgression. The king's power itself was limited. He was not an absolute sovereign. He had no law-making power. Hence the whole social organisation was in spirit static, being considered as divinely sanctioned.

The society was made up of a number of diverse and heterogeneous groups who held themselves to belong to one of the four groups or the other but who maintained their distinct unity one way or the other.

Relative position of the four Varnas.—Generally the position of Brahmanas and Ksatriyas was superior to those of Vaisyas and Sudras. On the productive labour of these, the cultured and political work of the two upper classes depended. Manu and the Mahabharata say that the people were entrusted to Brahmanas and kings. Vaisyas and Sudras paid gifts and taxes for their maintenance and work.

European classification of castes.—European writers who have devoted much labour to the study of castes in tracing its historical and sociological origin and development have classified castes roughly into (1) tribal or racial castes, (2) functional or occupational castes, (3) local or migrating castes, (4) religious

or sectarian castes, (5) mixed castes, (6) the fallen or untouchable castes, and (7) castless groups.

Factors in this classification.—Various factors which go to unite men have been stated in this classification.

(1) Tribal or racial groups :

These divisions are common to all primitive societies. Kinship and the idea of a common ancestor are the dominant ideas which hold men together. They are also bound by common customs and beliefs. Their social relations are controlled by the ideas of endogamy and exogamy. Purity of blood and identity of custom are the chief controlling factors.

In India to keep the Aryan race pure in blood so far as it might be was attempted very soon after the deteriorated results of free and indiscriminate contact with indigenous races were seen in the purity of language and speech, in the colour of the progeny, and in the quality of new customs and notions. Brahmanas, as guides and lawgivers, laid down prohibitory rules to keep the highest Aryan groups pure. The other mixed castes made similar rules in order to preserve whatever Aryan blood they had. Thus intermarriage and later interdining stopped.

(2) Functional or occupational groups :

In former times when all kind of education was not imparted in schools, occupations which required skill and therefore special training could be imparted by the father to the son or by the master to the apprentice. Hence particular professions came to be hereditary in the families which followed them. They would impart the knowledge and skill to their sons and relations and not to others. They alone would be able to follow these pursuits successfully. Their early training and apprenticeship would fit them for it by nature and by acquired skill. These families came to possess common customs and traditions and naturally united for common welfare and social relations. They developed an organisation for their economic security and prosperity. They thus consolidated into close corporations or castes. This state which they created for themselves was recognised by the law of the country and hence became rigid for no one was allowed to encroach upon their rights and privileges as the efficient performance of their occupations was a great necessity of society and this was the only way to do it.

(3) Local or migrating groups :

Newcomers have always been looked upon with an eye of suspicion or aloofness by the natives of a place. They are kept

outside the local pale because of their foreign birth, outlandish behaviour and customs, and sometimes their economic encroachment or competition. Hence even if they succeed in settling down in the new country by conquest or by introducing new arts or crafts, they still are left to form their own social groups and associations. While the people of the country from which they have come look down upon them for having lost the purity of their old customs or blood in transmigrating to new or unholy countries. In this way groups which were united formerly split owing to these migrations and new settlements. For example, Brahmanas, who were of one group, gradually spread throughout India and split into subgroups owing to the development of new customs, beliefs, food and languages. There was also a change in their blood as different groups did not stop the Anuloma (hypergamous) forms of marriage at one and the same time and as they intermingled with different types of peoples in different parts of the country. Their degrees of purity or contact and later development differed. Thus the process of assimilation of foreigners and differentiation of migrants differed and led to the rise of local castes or groups who differed from the parent groups or neighbourhood groups in some aspects of life.

(4) Religious or sectarian groups :

In early times the influence of religion was very great. Every aspect of life was moulded or viewed from the religious background. Differentiation of peoples was based on the differences of religious beliefs and practices. In Vedic times those who were Aryans believed and followed a system of sacrifice and were distinguished from Dasyus and others who did not believe in and follow the Aryan system of sacrifices. When religion alone came to be considered as a bond of community, irrespective of kingship or occupation or locality, religious groups resulted. Christians and Muslims are religious groups or sects, irrespective of race or occupation of their followers. In India Vaisnavas, Saivas, Buddhists, Jainas and other close groups are primarily religious, and secondarily they have become social or endogamous.

The exaltation and dominance of religious spirit over worldly life led to the influence of priests. Amongst their followers rose a spirit of separate community or sect which led to theirs being formed into isolated units even socially. They prohibited or regulated intermarriages, food, and occupations, and thus laid down the conditions and degrees of social intercourse with others.

Theories of caste origin.—Thus there are five important theories of the origin of caste. The first is the traditional view given in the code of Manu. The second is the occupational explanation as given by Nesfield. The third is the tribal, guild and religious explanation of Ibbetson. The fourth is the family or gentile explanation offered by Senart. The fifth is the racial and hypergamous explanation of Risley. All these are more or less features of the caste system rather than the causes of its origin.

Dr. Hutton in the census report of 1931 propounds the theory that the sentiments and beliefs on which caste is based presumably go back to the totemistic pre-Dravidian and pre-Aryan inhabitants of India. They became effective on contact with the Dravidian-speaking strangers bringing new crafts from the west. Totemistic societies have occupational, food and marriage taboos and ideas of pollution and purity. The Aryan invaders with their pride of colour and race crystallised these pre-existing taboos arising from magical ideas, on the basis of a fixed social scale.

The ideas of purity and pollution.—Thus ideas of purity and pollution have played a large part in the creation of castes and groups. The ideas of cleanliness in blood, religion, speech and customs largely underlie the segregation or isolation of one group from the other, each one looking down upon some others as impure and polluted and unworthy to be associated with. These barriers in the unity of human race may be minimised but cannot be eradicated if there are degrees of purity and impurity noticeable in the ways of life of different peoples. In India this caste feeling seems to be ingrained in the society. It has become rigid owing to various influences. It cannot be fully abolished because its roots are embedded deep down in religion, social customs, economic occupations, intellectual pursuits, and other aspects of people's life. It is only if they give up their religion that this may become possible, which change is not desirable nor attainable. But its rigour and rigidity may be minimised owing to its dangers to religion, society, economic and political security of the people. It would hardly be due to any other motives but utilitarian.

Certain advantages are attributed to the caste conception and organisation of society. They must be noted here in order to value its merits and defects as a social institution.

Its advantages.—It is stated that it created strong and consolidated units in society which had more things in common

among themselves than with others. They thus strengthened the efficient working of the various functions of the society and minimised competition and waste by reducing conflict and hatred. It is also maintained that purity of blood was preserved within the caste and hence higher castes maintained their higher moral, mental and physical qualities. Old traditions and customs, old arts, skill and craftsmanship, were preserved because of their hereditary transmission and practice in castes. Castes looked after their own poor, and developed ideas of self-sacrifice and subordination of self-interest to caste interests. It was suitable to the functional organisation of society in its economic pursuits where the interests of the workers or producers, and the speciality developed in skill and art could be maintained, and the confusion and the conflict of interests and pursuits could be avoided.

It has proved a great strength to religious organisation. No mass conversion of Hindus to foreign converting religions was possible. Each family and each caste fought against and resisted conversions even if a few others did not. Its conservatism, its stronghold upon its members, its system of penalty and excommunication made Hindu society self-governing, when the political power of the country was foreign and when kings were interested in destroying Hindu religion. The king was expected to maintain the social order, but he being a foreigner by religion and interests could not be expected to do this. Hence caste organisations supplied the void created in the organisation of Hindu society and religion, when Hindu kings and Hindu priests had lost their power. Caste organisation and gradation suited admirably the Hindu philosophical ideas of *Karma*, *Punarjanma* and the theory of three *gunas*, *Satva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*. Good actions led to birth in a higher caste or as a higher being and bad actions to a birth in a lower caste or as a lower being. This prevented discontent which would result from equalitarian ideas about human beings. Men and women, rich and poor, high and low, were satisfied with the status in which they were born as being the result of their past actions. They only hoped to escape from the present position by doing good actions in this birth, and then by acquiring a higher position in the next birth. Hence no attempt was made or was even thought of in order to rise above the position in which they were born. This authoritarian conception of society ruled the minds of the people and prevented social upheavals of lower or oppressed classes and their mass conversions to other religions. Caste system helped different cultural traditions to co-operate to-

gether. There was no doubt certain inequality and exclusiveness but there was also a harmonisation of different groups in a scheme of life. No group was allowed to hinder the progress of another which was advanced. Indiscriminate racial mixture in blood, custom and speech was not allowed. Savarna marriage between allied types meant that their level of colour, culture and social development was similar.

Then caste system also meant a synthesis of the skill of different groups who followed different pursuits or functions which were complimentary for a self-sufficing organic society without disturbing their individual character, code and tradition. The Brahmana's spiritual vision, the Kshatriya's protective valour, the Vaisya's productive skill, and the Sudra's manual work were all necessary for social growth. Brahmanas were not fully dependent on the State because their spiritual life was considered higher than the political and economic life. The Government was to secure them conditions of best life by maintaining the Varnashrama Dharma. Harmony and co-operation in social life were based not on the ideal of competition but on the allotment of functions according to a person's or group's specific nature. He was expected to follow his own proper function. Every person possesses a particular quality better than others, not that he does not possess other qualities but they are in a lower degree than others. All men are not equal in all ways. Each man or group is to give his best to the society by its proper service. Those persons or groups who were culturally superior were considered the highest. Economic groups were put on a lower scale. Life of spirit was given the highest place, then came the political life and then the economic life. There were few rights of material enjoyment or possession given to the spiritual man. He was divorced from material wealth and political power which were not centred in his hands. His religious, social and educational duties were numerous. Higher castes were considered to be twice-born or more evolved. They were taken to be more able to think and also to direct themselves or others. Less evolved and backward communities were not exterminated but allotted a position and a profession by way of discipline the advantages of which they were never tried to be deprived of. Such was the best view of the caste system of those who advocated it and strictly followed it.

Its defects.—But there is another side to the caste question. Its prevalence in the rigid form we have has proved very disastrous to the strength and unity of India politically and

religiously. No sense of unity or nationality is possible. Society is now divided into thousands of separate units, each looking after its narrow interests and traditions and subordinating the national needs to caste needs. It has prevented free association with foreigners in civic matters, and kept closed to them the doors of admission and conversion. Thus by its innumerable and unchanging restrictions it has robbed social organisation of two valuable assets of response to and reception of others which together lead to the formation of higher human groups. On the contrary mutual jealousies and discontents, ideas of class pride, of being higher and lower in social scale prevented any active and hearty co-operation for work which was common to all, such as political and economic, religious and intellectual. Common opposition to political dangers from abroad was never done. Hence political freedom was lost. In pursuing caste interests and showing indifference to national problems castes have lost their initiative, being stuck up in an old unchanging order of life and thought.

Moreover there is no end to multiplication of castes. The fourfold classification of society has remained only an ideal. On the contrary there are 4,000 castes and more and there has been no end to their multiplication in the past. The effect of splitting into subcastes is great. Mischievous is done physically by narrowing the circle of choice in marriage, intellectually by cramping the energies, and morally by destroying mutual confidence and habits of co-operation.

Fusion of subcastes and castes is a necessity, but is it a possibility? Old treatises do not mention the existence of all subcastes we find now, nor do they sanction the rigidity and separation between castes prevalent at present. Mahabharata says "Neither birth nor study nor learning constitutes Brahmanahood, character alone constitutes it" "In the beginning were all Brahmanas." Inter-dining and intermarriages were common. Samskara was alone thought to give a higher status which really depended on man's actions and character. But this state of affairs did not continue and the later social history of India has been one of caste multiplication.

The present place of caste in social organisation.—Caste holds an important place in Indian social organisation. It guides religious matters, duties and rituals. It moulds economic outlook and pursuits. It determines social behaviour, marriage relations, food and standard of purity in hygiene and sanitation, of education and habitation. At present it is the

only higher unit that unites families into a larger whole. It helped in admitting foreign tribes who adopted Hindu gods and manners into Hindu fold. Hence it is important to see what the future of the caste system would be. It would be hazardous and premature to state that it would disappear. But there are forces which are undermining its strength and hold on the Hindu mind. Economic pressure brought about by the narrowing of economic openings, free competition and western exploitation, have destroyed the old status, organisation of economic professions and pursuits, and castes have to change their economic outlook and to take to other professions which are not traditionally sanctioned. Brahmana, Ksatriya and Vaisya have lost a large number of their old pursuits which were their caste monopoly owing to foreign competition and to that of non-Hindus of other creeds whose political influence and power gave them a share or monopoly in many professions and pursuits. Hence the conception of caste associated with a profession and its code of behaviour have lost its strength. Only birth element has remained. Other constituent elements have become dissociated with the caste conception in this new economic struggle. New religious revival and social reform movement are sapping the rigidity of caste system. There is a strong tendency towards a fusion of subcastes and a closer association of castes. Old Sastras did not sanction such rigidity. The eternal ideal of a four-class system seems to hold and to attract Hindus again towards a new synthesis of their disordered and disorganised society. Religious movements of Aryasamaja, Brahmosamaja and the revivalists have helped to create this atmosphere. The social reform movement based on revival of old customs, on utility of a change in the present rigid order, on new rational and moral conceptions born of foreign systems of social organisation and strength is helping in weakening the stronghold of caste ideas.

Western influence.—The influence and attack of western civilisation on the old order of India is great. The strength and progress of western ideals and organisation of society are undermining the respect for caste system in the minds of the people. Western education and science are gradually doing this work in schools, colleges and clubs. Hindus are now opposed to Hindus on this question. There is a civil war in the Hindu social system. Lastly, the conversions to Islam and Christianity have awakened the Hindus to a sense of their dividedness and social chaos and to a want of social cohesion and unity. The present movement of Shuddhi and Sangathan

is a direct result of these attacks of foreign missionaries, Muslim and Christian. It will lead to the coming nearer of castes and a fusion of subcastes. The movement seems to be taking a deep root in the minds of the people because of the danger and weakness into which the society has fallen. Common education in improving and standardising the various social ideas and customs about food, dress, cleanliness, social ceremonies and the common speech. As the ideas of purity and manners of low castes improve, disgust or hatred towards them would disappear, and untouchability will decline.

Rapid intercommunication and common travelling.—Means of rapid intercommunication, the growth of large cities and crowded habitation, and the necessities of constant travelling together and living together are destroying exclusiveness in interdining and it seems to be a matter of time when it will disappear.

Interprovincial connection.—Interprovincial caste marriages and inter-subcaste marriages are taking place and are not disapproved or declared illegal and boycotted. Modern state legislation by its permissive attitude is removing legal disabilities about inheritance of property and legitimacy of children brought about intercaste marriages or remarriages. New social ideas and theories are also making caste protagonists yield in some respects to the new forces and factors in life.

Rigidity of conceptions lost.—Race conceptions which divided men into castes, occupations which graded them, territorial habitations which solidified them and religions which sanctioned them are themselves now not rigid units. There has been a mixture of races, interchange of occupations, migrations from territories, and exchange and mutual influence of religious ideas. This rapid interchange, intermixture and intercommunication brought about by world movements are strongly attacking and changing the old order. Caste conception has to struggle against odds born of the influence of great new ideas and necessities of modern times.

3. FAMILY.

The place of family in social life.—Of all the practices that have been adhered to and followed, that of living as and in a family has been one of the most remarkable traits in man's character. This habit is very old and has been influential to a great extent in moulding human history. The fundamental

principles of almost all the systems of marriage have been the outcome of this trait. All the ideas of inheritance, adoption and succession are the results of this way of living. In short, the whole code of the personal law of different communities is based on this idea of family-life. Moreover many rules of our moral code and many of our immemorial customs can only be explained by understanding this notion of family-grouping, because it is one of the first associations in which man and woman joined.

Meaning of family.—Family may be defined as the small community formed by the union of one man with one woman. Children born of this union are included in the family. But to define family the union and living together of one man and one woman is absolutely necessary. They constitute the household. These natural associations are the starting points or the germcells of early society. It may be here objected that this definition of the family is too narrow. For example, in India or amongst some other races and creeds polygamous relations are allowed. A man or the head of the family may have more than one wife. He is not restricted to marry or to form a union with only one woman. There may be also other relations, namely, brothers, sisters, father and mother, living together in a joint family. Though all this is possible and is practised amongst many races, the constituent element or that which gives birth to a family is the union of one man with one woman. Their children come in afterwards, but family starts with them two.

Two underlying ideas.—Female chastity and descent through males are the two chief ideas underlying the formation and growth of patriarchal family. Plurality of wives does not disturb these fundamental ideas. As long as female chastity is maintained, and agnatic relationship or descent through males is recognised, family exists. And hence the practice of polygamy has not disintegrated family, though it may have marred peaceful family lives in many instances. The central fact is that the authority of the male is to be recognised as supreme. He is to have no rivals. His dominion over the person of his wife or wives and children and the household property is paramount. Though the ideas of equal rights of woman in the family property is growing up in modern times, it has not reached the level of man's. Polygamy is discouraged and dying out, but woman has not man's freedom in life and enjoyment of rights. Man still dominates. Woman still submits. The necessities of life are earned and provided by man for woman.

The beginning of society is in family and a family is a natural association of kindred in blood, consisting of father, mother and their descendants.

Family is the social unit.—The unit of Hindu society is the family containing the head, his wives, his unmarried daughters, and his sons with their wives and children. This social group had a common dwelling, and lived, ate, worshipped their gods and enjoyed their estate in common. The authority of the head was great. He represented all the members of his family before the law and claimed complete obedience from them. The property, women and servants belonged to him.

Its religion.—The family traced its descent through agnatic relations to a common ancestor. The religion, religious customs and gods of ancestors, and ancestor-worship became the religious life of the family. Marriage relations, food relations, social ceremonies and customs and morality were based on these ancestral forms, customs and ideas. In this scheme of life the woman who came from outside in marriage, or went out in marriage naturally received a subordinate position. Her proprietary rights, if any, and her personal freedom were limited. She had a biological function and a religious place in the family and a social status in the caste or the world outside. But in the home she depended for her food, dress and other necessities on her husband, and her movements and associations were controlled by him. Similarly his sons and daughters depended for their education, upbringing, their marriage, food and dress on him, till they got separated and left the family, daughters by marriage, and sons by setting up new families and becoming themselves earning units. Other relations who depended on him had no independent rights, proprietary or personal.

Joint family.—But when the law of succession and inheritance laid down certain rules in case of a division of ancestral and not self-acquired, property, then sons and grandsons, brothers and uncles, mothers, wives and daughters came to have some legal proprietary rights and personal freedom. This was a coparcenary or joint family and not an independent patriarchal family. In a joint family there was no real patriarch, but a Karta or manager who looked after the personal interests of all joint members and their proprietary interests as long as the members remained joint and the property was not partitioned. In a joint family the earnings of all members went to a common purse or treasury. They were not in any way demarcated as separate possessions of earning members. The members were considered joint in mess, house and property. Non-earning

members possessed the same rights as the earning members. This state of affairs remained till the members of the family separated and partitioned the property, shares and rights of each which were laid down by the law. Thus an enlarged joint family split into a number of families which formed nuclei of new joint families. Later on they in turn would divide. In a joint family four generations would be found living together from the old retired grandfather and grandmother to the young new born grandchildren and a number of collaterals, grand-uncles, uncles, nephews, their wives and others who were not yet separated from the family. Thus there was a large number of agnates in the family.

The relative position of males and females.—The position of the males in their rights of property and inheritance was similar if they were of the same status or degree of relationship. The position of woman was dependent. She had no independent property rights except legally in her *Stridhan* and as a widow's estate, that is, the right of maintenance and enjoyment of property during her life-time. After her death the estate passed to male reversioners of the last male heir who had held the property. She was generally to obey her husband in her womanhood and her son in her old age. She was generally to do the household work. She was hardly given any literary education as her part of life lay in the house, in cooking, washing and looking after children and other similar works. Marriages of sons and daughters were settled by parents, in which they had hardly any voice. To the wife the husband was like a god who was to be obeyed and pleased in all ways. In this lay her family duty and spiritual salvation. She was expected to do the ordinary work of all other members, and thus some times became a house-druge in contrast to other male household drones who were not earning but simply enjoyed food and clothing. The wife was theoretically an *Ardhangi* or *Sahadharmancharini* of her husband having an equal position in religious rites and in social ceremonies and festivals. The *Dampri* was one personality ideally and a unity of mind and real happiness resulting from marriage, but in proprietary management, and in personal control the 'better' half (wife) had to yield and to obey the other half. If the husband died the position of widow in higher castes was hard religiously, socially and economically. She was not allowed to remarry as she had come into and formed part of her husband's Gotra and family. Remarriage would lead her into a new Gotra. Her spiritual relations and merit would be destroyed in a remarriage. Consequently she was either expected

to burn herself as a *Sati* with her dead husband, or to lead the severe life of a recluse with a number of restrictions on food, dress, association and behaviour, and to follow certain religious rites and penances. Her marriage-union with her husband was an eternal bond, not severed by her husband's death, but was supposed to last in other world. Her life here affected the life of her husband hereafter. If she however were to die before her husband, he was allowed to take another wife. Even during her life he could do this. In practice after her husband's death she was deprived of all religious rights and social enjoyment and became a mere household drudge or labourer, burdened under religious and social restrictions in her personal freedom and movement, and in proprietary rights even in her husband's property.

Its services.—The Hindu joint family served the needs of human beings in a variety of ways. When the state organisation had not fully developed, families were small states within a state. The head who possessed magisterial powers looked after the person and property of the members of the family, preserved the religious customs and rites, and maintained the economic pursuits and social status and manners. Traditions of family and society, marriage and education of its members were settled and cared for. Weaker members, women and children, were brought up and helped in life. It solved in a way the problem of the unemployed or the poor. When state had not come to recognise and to perform the welfare functions of society they were performed by families.

Its evils.—Joint family has however in some respects adversely acted on the character of its members. We have already stated about the subordination of women. It has created a number of drones who not being inclined to work keep hanging on the family and exhaust its resources and prove a constant source of burden, quarrel and anxiety to the earning members of the family. Their dependent mentality gets increased and fed in its atmosphere. Initiative, venture and desire for work on their part are absent. Their presence has destroyed the atmosphere of an ideal and loving home where father, mother and children work happily and harmoniously for their existence and well-being. There is hardly any association of wife and husband for cultural or intellectual purposes or spiritual growth except that one gets tired of them.

Joint family life is not generally found suitable to individual freedom and new ventures. It has a conservative influence on its members who are unwilling to take to new ideas and pursuits.

Its gradual break up. Economic pressure.—Hindu joint family system is breaking under the pressure of economic struggle. All able-bodied or adult members must earn. Then only maintenance is possible. The old rigour of religious ideas and traditions is also waning before the rise of new ideas of society and morality. In cities persons engaged in industrial, commercial and labour occupations find it impossible to maintain joint families. New ideas of individualism and material comfort are breaking the old morality of a joint family where the principle of service and self-sacrifice were largely followed. The increasing cost of daily life and maintenance will not countenance the holding together of large families. In villages persons engaged in agricultural occupations find the land units too small for supporting a large family. The subdivision and fragmentation of land and decay of farm or cottage industries have reduced the family income and it is too little to support all the members of an extended family. Hence a number of them are compelled to migrate to other parts for work or to starve if work is not found. Hence modern conditions of economic life and modern ideas of a good material and progressive life seem to be against the spirit of a joint family system, and in the great economic competition and struggle it will be found too difficult to maintain its hold on the minds of the people.

Family as an institution contains social and civic elements in the service rendered by parents to children, by brothers to sisters, by the strong to the weak, in order and discipline, in duties and rights, in respect for personality and property, in sanitation and education, in tradition and history, in arbitration in children's quarrels, in the system of rewards and punishments, in alms and help to the poor, in hospitality and in many other respects. It has economic, religious, social, political and educational side of life. It promotes human feeling, collective action, and social thinking. It is a great human and civic institution.

Foreign casteless societies.—The casteless social groups of followers of other religions have their own system of traditions and customs, where marriage and food relations are not restricted as amongst different castes. Hence the problem of inter-communal unity between such opposed or different groups is a difficult one to solve.

The ways of escape out of this impasse are not easy to suggest, unless religion becomes a personal or family matter, conversions are stopped, ideas of extreme purity, pollution and

untouchability decline. People must respect each other's religious feelings put the interest of country above community and caste, and consider that country's economic and political interests are common and important above other things.

✓4. SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

Early marriage.—The custom of early marriage which has become deep-rooted is now being modified and adult marriages are again coming into vogue. Early marriages destroyed the physique, caused early motherhood and death, of the girl, or her early widowhood after her husband's death. Children born were weaklings and there was a large infant and children mortality. The Sarda Act (1930) penalises marriage of girls before 14 and of boys before 18.

Sati.—The custom of Sati is now legally prohibited (1829 Act) and whatever its theoretical advocates may say it is not a living custom. Re-marriage of widows is however looked down upon. Leaving aside the cases of those who willingly follow a life of abstinence and religious austerity after their husbands' death, on those young widows who are not of this extreme ascetic and spiritual mentality, this prohibition works as a hardship, and this prevention also works as a moral mischief in society. Abortion of children, infanticide, and orphans are the results. Family morality and social sense of human needs suffer. No doubt this custom is restricted to some higher castes who are now agitating for minimising its rigours. Law has removed restrictions on remarriage (1856).

Polygamy.—Similarly the customs of polygamy and young girls being married to old men, many a times for the sake of money, are being discarded under the new economic, moral and educational pressure. But such changes and progress are slow, though all these customs are strongly condemnable.

Restrictions on marriage.—There are restrictions on marriage as a whole which may be shortly stated as those of Gotra, sub-caste and Veda, which are compulsory and others, such as astrological which are almost mandatory. This has led to in-breeding in some cases and is affecting the physique of society.

5. POSITION AND STATUS OF WOMEN.

Better position of high-caste women.—Historically in Vedic times women, such as Gargi, Maitreyi, had more freedom, and equality and were held in high esteem. Husbands could be chosen by themselves, widows could remarry and become edu-

cated, and they held a great position and responsibility in the family religiously and socially. Epics also give pictures of domestic and social happiness of women, such as Sita, Savitri and Damayanti. But even then also it seems all was not well. There were either a number of restrictions on or less scope for women. Higher caste women alone appear in a free and good light.

Manu's ideas. Pauranic Period.—Manu states the position of women as unfit for independence. She must depend on her relations. Her personal and proprietary rights are restricted. Pauranic period shows early marriages and other customs in full swing. Foreign conquest and influence completed their degradation and restriction in purdah, which denied all outdoor life, social, recreational and educational, to women. It has stagnated her mind. Women are preservers of culture, educators of children, companions and friends of men. Their moral, mental and physical strength will alone strengthen society. No doubt their duties as mothers and wives are largely in the household. Even then they require more freedom, more responsibility and more education, especially when the ideas and customs of men and society are so rapidly changing under the influence of science and new thought. Without woman's help and co-operation the new world cannot be properly created. Otherwise women's conflict with men will rise. Their life must be harmonised to meet the needs of the old revived culture and the new adopted culture for which both have to be trained and allowed freedom to adjust themselves in all aspects of life. Medieval mind and morality of both men and women cannot live under or work under modern conditions and ideals. Examples of great countries of the East, Japan, Turkey and Iran are gradually showing what even independent countries have to do in order to exist in modern times for a better and fuller kind of life.

The low view about women wherever it is found must be given up, and a noble view of their duties and responsibilities should be taken, and they must be brought up and treated accordingly.

✓ 6. UNTOUCHABILITY.

Its bases.—The custom of untouchability is a further growth of the rigidity of the caste system and is based on conceptions of purity of blood and dignity or purity of professions, food, religion and morality, and pollution in touch.

Its various kinds.—Let us see the extent of the idea of untouchability in various walks of life at home and outside.

- (1) There is a home untouchability while cooking or taking food, while doing worship and religious rites, after taking a bath, for a fixed period of days when birth and death take place amongst relations, during menstrual period of women, etc. But this untouchability is temporary.
- (2) There is a caste untouchability in the practices of not taking food and water from some castes, not allowing them to touch the priests while worshipping gods, not sitting with them or meals, etc. But this is also for particular purposes and temporary.
- (3) There is a real untouchability which is permanent. Certain groups of people known as Antyajas or Chandalas or Panchamas are not to be touched at all. They are by birth untouchables. For no purpose can they be touched or allowed to approach the other castes. Even their shadow is considered polluting.

Thus we may say that by birth some are always touchables like Brahmanas, some are always untouchables like Chandalas, and some are untouchables in some matters and on some occasions but otherwise touchables.

Its ridiculous nature.—But in the case of Chandalas the custom has gone to the ridiculous length that as a Hindu a Chandal is untouchable, as a converted Mussalman or Christian he becomes touchable. Even one may touch an unclean animal and not get polluted by the touch, but not so if we touch Chandalas. Amongst touchable castes there seems to have been formerly more touchability in regard to taking food, water, when worshipping god, or when observing religious duties, but later on rigidity grew greater. Even now some local customs allow lower castes' touch in cooking and bringing water. We are not concerned with the temporary untouchability amongst different castes or the same caste based on religious or hygienic grounds on certain occasions, but we are here dealing with the permanent untouchability of Chandalas or groups of exterior castes with whom no touchability is possible on any occasion.

Its origin.—The origin of their degraded or depressed position is partly racial, partly religious and partly social. The idea of untouchability originated in taboo of certain work or profession to which a social stigma was attached. The persons who did it became polluted.

This custom is based on social usages and beliefs as found recorded in old Dharma Sastras. Though there were only four classes recognised by the Vedas, the fifth class of Pan-chamas was recognised to exist from very early times. Those who fell from even Sudra Dharma were put in the Ati-Sudra or Antyaja class, and others who degraded themselves by certain great sins, prohibited acts and breaches of duties were classed as this fifth class. and still others who could never be classified amongst any one of the four classes or put even nearer them formed always the nucleus of this untouchable class because of their unclean methods and pursuits of livelihood, their dirty food, their low customs, their vulgar speech, their immoral and rude character and the perils of their neighbourhood from hygienic, moral and religious considerations. These people may have been from amongst those conquered like the Sudras, but did not take to recognised methods of Sudra life and hence remained outside the Vedic pale of four Varnas, and also from amongst those others who had fallen by their contact with those who were always beyond the Aryan pale, religiously, socially, and culturally.

These accusations against them made them live segregated and located outside villages and towns, and their movement in villages and towns was strictly curtailed and regulated as regards time and localities.

Denial of elementary human rights.—The number of these exterior castes in India is very large, about four crores or less. They have to-day no elementary human rights in the society, though legally there are no disabilities. Their elevation from the lowest position of social and religious life to a better state is the duty of every Indian who considers them as Indians. On the Hindu lies this greatest blot. Even if they are considered bad in all respects it is the duty of society to educate him to better and cleaner ways of life which are considered more moral and human. Neglect cannot raise backward or ignorant or wicked people to better status. The conception is that people can be improved in their status in this one life and need not depend for it till next birth. Karma can be changed by education, association and example and practice of new and better ideas and principles. They can be compelled to give up bad customs and vices by law as well as by preaching and education.

Its continuance is a danger—The question of untouchability is pressing us religiously, socially and politically. On the welfare, goodwill, and co-operation of this large

class will depend our strength and progress. To-day our nation and our humanity demand their emancipation from the thralldom of ages in which they are. Their slave mentality and condition have to be changed and a great limb of the nation is to be assimilated in the society. Their conversion to other religions would be a great danger to India. Their Shuddhi would be a great achievement, and the disappearance of untouchability a great epoch in Indian history. Their present position is a great hindrance to our national progress in all ways. Their awakening to their own wretched position has led to their hatred against other communities. The ideas of high and low human beings by mere birth are not human and based on false knowledge. Man is an alterable, educable and perfectible being. He is dynamic and progressive and hence requires scope for free action and guidance towards higher action, thought and speech. Low and suppressed position deteriorates human beings just as high and privileged position elevates him and helps in keeping him at a high level unless he takes himself to bad ways of life perversely. Man placed in difficult circumstances can rise if there is in him the dissatisfaction with his surroundings, and if there is some scope for his movement and some response for his action. Untouchables who remained satisfied with and believed in their conditions of life never struggled for change. To-day times have spread dissatisfaction amongst them. Therefore their problems must be considered from a national and humanitarian view point and not from the point of view of their hereditary status.

Saints' and reformers' attitude.—Great teachers and saints in the past have preached the equality of all castes and out-castes in the eyes of God. They did not differentiate between high and low. Bhagvat Gita speaks of the equality of a learned Brahmana, a cow, an elephant, a dog and a Chandala in the eyes of a Pandit. Buddha gave an equal position to all in his Sangha. Similarly other great men did it. But it was only a spiritual equality and not a social one. In the same strain the Vedantist Sankaracharya said "whether one is a Chandala or a Brahmana matters not, he is a teacher, such is my opinion" Ramanuja preached equality in this world and admitted Chandala women and Sudras as disciples, and allowed them to come into temples and to bathe in tanks. His was not however what is called social equality. Ramananda took disciples from lower castes. Similarly Kabir, Chaitanya, Namdeva, Tukarama and other Bhakti saints professed and preached these ideas. Some took food with untouchables. On their teachings arose a number of untouchable saints famous for their

devotional hymns. But the society as such did not accept the principle of equality. They may fraternise with them religiously at certain festivals, such as Holi or Ramalila or at national temples, such as Jagannath of Puri in the East, Venkateshwar of Giri in the South, Vithoba of Pandharpur in Maharashtra in the West, but social strictness and also religious rigidity of castes as a whole remained

Dissenting sects and new religious movements.—Converting sects, such as those of Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, have not been able to solve this social question. They have now become quietistic in the zeal of conversion. Foreign religions, such as those of Islam and Christianity, are the only groups which offer equality of status and privileges to all who accept their faith in social and religious matters. New modern religious bodies, such as those of the Brahmo Samajists, Prarthana Samajists, Arya Samajists, Deva Samajists, Theosophists, recognise no untouchability or caste rigidity. On the contrary they emphasise the idea of universal brotherhood, and are encouraging the low castes to ameliorate their condition and to improve their status. Hindu society as a whole under the influence of the movement for Shuddhi and Sangathan is gradually finding its way to the removal of untouchability and rigidity of caste system. The process is slowly going on. *Antyajas* are gradually rising by adopting other professions, such as cultivation, public service, military service, clerkships, teacherships, etc. This creates a new outlook in them and they become better in social tone and morals.

Their present disabilities.—The position of these castes at the present time is not very much improved. The disabilities though losing their rigour are still there. They are barred from public utilities, such as, the use of roads, schools, tanks, and wells. They are deprived of religious facilities, such as entry into and use of temples and burning grounds, and taking part in processions. In many cases services of barbers, admission to restaurants, hotels, theatres and dharmasalas owned by private individuals are denied to them.

Movements for reform.—There is a great movement within the country led by Mahatma Gandhi and others, known as the *Harijan movement*, and also by the leaders of these castes, to remove all their civic disabilities and to improve their civil, social, educational and religious status. They have no doubt partly succeeded. They have awakened the country to the immensity and importance of the problem and of its immediate solution. They have made the Hindus examine the whole basis of their caste system and its morality, humanity and utility.

In spite of the prohibition against their entering into temples these castes are definitely Hindus. They worship the same deities, though from a distance. No doubt, their social and religious disabilities tend to foster their conversion to Islam, Christianity or Sikhism whose missionaries are trying their best to proselytise them. But even after conversion the social stigma does not disappear all at once. It is stated that economically their condition is generally not bad in all the provinces. In some they are to a certain extent self-supporting and are by no means desperately poor.

Equality of all castes.—In 1923 the Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution declaring that the untouchables had equal rights with other Hindus to study in schools, and to use wells, roads and temples, and it called on barbers, washermen and priests to render their services to them.

Work of missions.—All the Hindu missions, mandals, samajas and societies have done valuable work in raising their social status. The Depressed Classes Mission Society was founded in 1906 in Bombay for the purpose of elevating their social as well as the spiritual conditions by promoting education, providing work, remedying social disabilities, and preaching to them principles of liberal religion, good moral life and good citizenship.

Work of Mahatma Gandhi.—Mahatma Gandhi has made the removal of untouchability a plank in the programme of the Congress movement. He has greatly contributed to its mitigation and partial removal. He has established in 1932 an All-India Harijan Sevak Sangha with its headquarters at Delhi and with provincial branches in order to deal with the problem of fighting untouchability as a whole.

Travancore State's great reform.—As the result of a wide campaign in Malabar the Government of Travancore threw open all schools, chatrams, tanks and wells to them. Later on it issued the temple entry proclamation on the 12th November 1936, which gives them full and free access to Hindu places of worship and their appurtenances without any restrictions whatsoever. This is the greatest step taken to reform Hinduism since the time of Ramanuja.

Problems of untouchables.—The problems which face the untouchables are not merely the removal of untouchability and social equality but also the securing of political rights, economic opportunities, educational equipment and advance sanitary conditions, medical aid and removal of civic disabilities. They are being tackled by provincial governments,

reform associations and religious missions. The result is noticeable in the relaxation of the rigour of the evil of untouchability.

Modern education and political movements.—The modern educational, converting and political movements are bringing them rapidly forward and men from the untouchables themselves have taken to the task of their community's progress. The public is now sympathetic and helpful towards their efforts to rise and to progress. We hope the problem of untouchability will be rapidly solved.

Untouchability is a national evil.—The problem of these exterior castes is a national problem. When the people as a whole desire equality and freedom, unity and independence it cannot deprive a large section of itself every elementary right of citizenship and humanity. These people are now awakened to their low status in society and have become conscious of their wrongs. They are rising against the oppressions and inequalities which they suffer. They are going to enter into or to remain within that fold or community which assures them perfect equality and security of their life, liberty and property, or to fight with all those who deny them these. They want all civic and political rights and the removal of all social prejudices and religious sanctions against them.

The emancipation of these classes is a *sine qua non* of the development of Indian nation and humanity. They must be made an integral part of it. They do not believe in the so-called trusteeship of other classes. They want to share fully and enjoy equally the life of the nation.

Its abolition absolutely necessary.—Untouchability is a sinful and immoral custom and it must be destroyed without any hesitation, even if it is acceptable to the majority. There is no question of local option as advocated in temperance reform. The exterior castes want their self-respect assured on a basis of social, religious and economic equality. The surest way to their elevation lies in higher education, higher employment and better ways of earning a living. They want respect shown to their human personality. They want a religion which will give them equality of social status. This can only be done at least by the abolition of the system of inequality of castes. Otherwise in course of time they will leave for another religion and society where they will be welcomed and given an equal social, religious, economic and political status. From the point of view of the Hindu Society it would be a great loss and danger

to its security and peace, and a great stain on her moral and human outlook..

Primitive tribes.—Primitive tribes in India who live in hills and forests of India and who live even now in their old primitive form of tribal organisation number about two and a half crores. Of these only 82 lacs have been returned as adhering to their tribal religions. The remainders are mainly Hindu. There are also some Christians, Buddhists and Muslims amongst them.

The general tone of social life.—Hindu life is more sectional or compartmental than unitary. There are a number of social and religious groups arranged under a confederal basis with a few common ideas associating them together. Between different groups there is no real social life. There is no inter-dining, no intermarriage, no common social gathering where each one feels absolutely free and equal to the other even temporarily. Social life is thus exclusive and narrow. The system of touchability and untouchability is carried to excess and has been made a social institution which debar people from associating freely with one another and from making common cause in weal or woe and in national dangers and calamities. People, if they meet in common, meet only for a certain purpose or function on certain occasions and not for social enjoyment or recreation. New sports, clubs, and gymnasiums are gradually changing this but not as a whole. The caste system and its tendency to split create new ranks, classes and subcastes where the conceptions of high and low, learned and ignorant remain deep-rooted. The society thus remains in a static condition, in a conservative mood, and maintains its hereditary character, composition and status. The social organisation is not receptive of new ideas and new men. There is no response in it to new freedom or ideals. Consequently co-operation with other groups becomes very difficult. Society remains blind and unprogressive. Individual is checked and not liberalised.

7. SIKH COMMUNITY.

Sikh reforms.—Sikhs are a democratic religious community. But their increasing contact with the Western culture has roused them to a new spirit of social reform and religious purification. It has also led to a revival of communal consciousness and to a recognition of communal interests. The progressive section amongst them has initiated reformatory and educational movements. There has developed a sort of new-Sikhism which accepts the Khalsa traditions and also holds a modern out-

look on social, political and educational needs. They have created an elective council, called the Chief Khalsa Dewan, for dealing with their religious and educational affairs and for the protection of their secular interests. Its chief educational institution is the Khalsa College at Amritsar. There are other colleges and schools also. Sikhs have got passed an act in 1909 to legitimise a special form of Sikh marriage.

In recent years the reform of their religious institutions assumed a great importance. These institutions called Gurudwaras are of a monastic type attached to a shrine. They are controlled by Sikh mahants. In 1920 a committee called Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee was established for the management of their sacred shrines. The Akalis, a militant puritan sect of the Sikhs, carried out the Committee's orders and occupied monasteries and ejected their old managers. The Committee was declared unlawful in 1923 and its members arrested. In 1925 the Sikh Shrines Act was passed. It brought all Sikh religious institutions under the control of the Sikh Community through the agency of local congregational representatives, their managers were deprived of permanent tenure of their offices, the due application of monastic endowments was ensured, and the proper maintenance and audit of accounts prescribed.

8. PARSI COMMUNITY.

Parsis, lead and contribution.—Parsi Community is a closed exclusive community, inheriting a long past tradition and culture. Being a very small community it has not many social problems, as all its members stand more or less on an equal social footing. It however was affected by the 19th century Indian movements. The Parsis have proved to be the greatest philanthropists in India and the amount and number of their charities and benefactions are enormous and most of them are established on non-communal lines for the promotion of medical, educational and social work. Their citizen spirit and liberality and munificence have not been equalled in India. "Parsi, thy name is charity."

A number of great reformers arose amongst them, such as Nooroji Ferdoonji (1817-1885), Dadabhai Nooroji (1825-1917), Sorabji Shapurji Bengali (1831-1893) Kharshedji Rustamji Cama (1831-1909), Behramji M. Malabari (1853-1912), J. N. Tata, (1839-1904), D. E. Wacha (1844-1935) and P. M. Mehta, (1845-1915). They were pioneers and leaders of social, political

industrial and educational reform movements in Western India. They tried to regenerate the social condition of the Parsis and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristinest purity.

Malabari is considered one of the greatest social reformers of modern India. In 1910 Cama inaugurated a Zoroastrian Conference under the inspiration of a Parsi priest named Dhala. He tried hard to spread education amongst the Parsis and revive Iranian studies and researches and to found a number of educational institutions. J. J. Modi carried on the work.

9. MUSLIM SOCIAL LIFE IN INDIA.

"In the House of Allah, all are equal." Koran.

"True equality is proportionate." Plato.

Principles of social organisation.—The principles and forms of Muslim social life differ from those of the Hindus. Though their society is based on and imbued with the tenets of their own religion like the Hindu society, the principles underlying their social beliefs are absolutely different from those of the Hindus. The ideal Islamic social system is based on the principle of the equality of man. Every Muslim is equal not only in the eye of his religion but also in that of his society, polity and law. There is no Varna or Jati system to create differences of high and low, touchables and untouchables, whites and blacks amongst the Muslims. There is the social equality of men of all races, along with the spiritual equality of all true Muslims.

But this theoretical social equality was not actually followed by Arabs in their relations to and treatment of non-Arab Muslims whom they called Mawalis or clients and whom they gave less of social and political privileges. Intermarriages with them or giving of higher political posts to them were not appreciated but, condemned. Arabs were proud of their noble blood and were not in favour of the equalitarian ideas of non-Arab Muslims. The same tendency was observable in other races when they were converted and when they acquired political power and prestige in a community or a country. The tribal or racial conception did not fully yield to the religious conception of equality. Hence we find to-day a number of restrictions on and prejudices against the ideas of social equality amongst Muslim peoples.

The system of slavery continued to exist amongst Muslims though their lot and position was much improved as soon as they became Muslims. Children born of a slave girl had the same rights as those born of a lawful wedlock. There is hardly

any recognition of illegitimacy of birth in Islam. There is no sin attached at the birth. A man does not inherit the sins of his parents or caste or colour. He can become equal to another in this very life by his own exertions. There is no caste stigma or caste honour. In the Islamic fold there is the doctrine of the brotherhood and equality of man. Muhammad says "Remember, you are all brothers. All men are equal in the eyes of God. To-day I trample under my feet all distinctions of caste, colour and nationality. All men are sons of Adam, and Adam was of dust".

Presence of social evils. In spite of all these theories and injunctions of the Muslim faith, Muslim society in India as elsewhere is faced with a number of social evils born out of human nature and the past and present human associations of the converted. There is a number of injurious customs and superstitious beliefs which require eradication before Muslim society can become strong and efficient to take a proper part in modern life.

Religious basis.—The religious basis of every approved custom, belief or institution has given the Muslim society a hide-bound character. It will be extremely difficult to change this and to create in it a progressive outlook. It can throw away accretions but it cannot give up sanctioned or traditionally accepted codes and customs of life. This medieval mentality based on religion is detrimental to the ideas and needs of modern life and progress. It is the greatest problem facing the Muslims in their economic, social, and political regeneration in modern India.

Authoritarian conception.—Islam is a peculiar blend of the ideas of human equality and brotherhood, and theological absolutism. There is no right conceded to the Muslims to go against the revealed injunctions and interpretations of the Koran, the sayings of the Prophet, the traditions of the Khalifas or the Imams, and the Futwas of Ulemas. The temporary time-value, place-value and human-value of social systems are not recognised. Hence it suffers and stagnates like other religio-social systems.

It is now admitted by thoughtful Muslims that there are social evils amongst them and they require reform. Whether the reform is to lead back to the correct teaching of an ideal Islam or to run forward on the lines of the necessities of modern humanitarian and international social life is also a great problem with them. But that reform must come is fully recog-

nised. Whether the past ideals are to dominate or the future or modern needs are to inspire will depend on the temperament of the reformers.

Causes of social evils.—The social evils which have arisen are due to the fact that Muslim society is not composed of one race or one culture. A number of tribes or castes at different levels of culture, custom, and outlook have entered its fold. And when they did this against their own will or conviction or out of necessity they retained many traits and customs of their old civilisation, society and mentality. Islam was merely a superficial superimposition. Most of the old ideas, prejudices and superstitions have remained amongst them. This was bound to be the result when conversion was not based on persuasion and conviction, but on force or necessity. Conversion in such cases was a nominal one without any real roots in the minds of the converted. Therefore there is a constant and permanent need of social reform amongst the Muslims of India.

Caste ideas.—To-day they suffer from caste ideas inspite of their ideas of equality and brotherhood. There are no inter-marriages and there are discriminations amongst Suiyads, Shaiks, Mughals, Pathans, and others. Intermarriages are very often avoided and are less common. There is the pride of noble birth and there is the difference of culture. But one good thing there is. There is no injunction against intermarriages and therefore this reform can come about easily by education and levelling of cultural ideas and customs.

Close marriage.—One of the great evils amongst Muslims is the system of close marriages. There is a sort of clan endogamy resulting often in close marriages of first cousins. These lead to physical deterioration and perpetuation of hereditary diseases. Intellectual and moral power is consequently stunted. Unless a system of exogamy is worked out this evil is likely to remain in such cases.

Early marriage.—There is again the evil of early marriages prevalent in the society. There are a number of pre-puberty marriages. They have to be stopped, and only those marriages have to be encouraged which take place when the full development of the boy and the girl occurs, say, at the ages of 20-25 and 18-20 respectively. Early marriages lead to early physical deterioration or death. Early widowhood also results from it.

Polygamy.—Polygamy is another evil but it is not largely prevalent. Equal treatment of all wives is not possible. It

creates domestic discord and misery. Hence it must be given up. No religion enjoins polygamy. It may in certain cases permit it. There is however a steady rise of public opinion against it. Ill-assorted marriages have also to be prevented between the very old and the very young. They lead to immorality, discontent, and ideas of sale and purchase of brides as cattle. Marriage is not to be licensed concubinage. It has the elements of companionship, mutual response, and domestic happiness. Woman is neither a slave nor a piece of property. She is a personality to be happily associated with in a joint endeavour towards happiness, a good family life and a healthy progeny.

Widow re-marriage.—The problem of widow remarriage is also facing the Muslim society, though there is nothing in the religion against it. Perpetuation of a life-long widowhood is tyranny on an unwilling woman. It encourages or connives at illicit intercourse. This custom is prevalent in the middle and higher classes. The force of custom or prejudice against it has to be minimised, and the social taboo on widow remarriage has to be removed.

Divorce has been allowed by Islam, and marriage is not considered indissoluble. But it was not necessarily favoured. Man has however the power of putting an end easily to the marriage relationship which has proved unhappy, but woman has no power to do it except through a very complicated legal procedure.

Purdah.—The last but not the least is the great evil of purdah which perpetuates the seclusion of women and their confinement to home where all contact with the world of life and progress is tabooed. It seems to have partly a religious sanction, and partly the force of custom behind it. To the extent to which it prevails in northern India it is inhuman. It is utterly condemnable whether religion, custom, need, man's jealousy, idea of woman as property or slave has sanctioned, maintained or perpetuated it. Text and tradition must be set aside and the woman freed from her life-long prison. Want of fresh air, of social intercourse, of free movement, and of joy in life are some of its evils which deteriorate her mind and body and consequently the growth of a healthy and good progeny is impossible. Stunted growth, physical deterioration and a life of idleness are the result.

The evils of joint family system are also visible amongst Muslims. A number of relations remain idle and feed at the cost of one or two earning members.

The problem of excessive expenditure on marriages is also facing the Muslims and causing a lot of economic misery.

Position of women.—The position of women, excluding the evil influence of purdah system and consequent want of education, and prevalence of idleness and stunted growth, is better as regards the right of inheritance in the family property of the father and the husband, the right of divorce, remarriage, and endowments. But still the outlook of men on women is similar to that on a piece of property or a slave. It is a medieval or feudal outlook. It must give place to the idea and love of companionship, a sort of equal partnership in all virtues and undertakings of domestic and social life, and thus invigorate man, woman and child to a new conception and joy in the life of the world.

10. CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.

Character of Christian Community.—Indian Christians are divided into a number of sects, Roman Catholics, Syrian Christians and Protestants. The greater part of them are converts from the lower strata or outcastes of the Hindu community, and also from the tribal hill people or aborigines. Foreign missionary societies have largely controlled and directed their lives and arranged for their educational, religious and social needs. Hence no indigenous leadership and organisation have arisen to deal with their problems.

Caste persists.—The conversions to Christianity have not broken the bonds of caste. Though Christianity recognises social and religious equality, still the converts continue to hold on to caste conceptions and many other old caste practices especially in the South.

Though generally Indian Christians show themselves outlandish in spirit and in modes of life, food and dress, some of them have shown keen national tendencies and outlook. A few of the ablest Christians were converts from higher castes. Lately national spirit has awakened in them. In the 19th century, Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922), a Maratha Brahmin convert, showed her zeal for social service and education. Dr. Datt and K. T. Paul have been great public workers. Mr. M. M. Datta and Mr. N. V. Tilak have been great poets and patriots.

Need of a national and united church.—The All-India Christian conference now studies the social, religious, political and educational problems of the community and tries to suggest reforms and measures for its progress. Indian missionaries

have tried to fight for the nationalisation of the church and for self-government in the church against foreign missions and their control, and also for the development of a sense of independence and self-respect and a national church. The first Indian Christian to conceive of a national church of India was Rev. Lal Bihari Dey (1824-1894). He was against the multiplicity of sects and denominations and therefore wanted a national church free from foreign control. He wanted Indian Christian ministers to be placed on a footing of absolute equality with their European confreres which the Europeans would not allow. Similarly Rev. W. T. Sathianadhan (1830-1892) also worked for the independence of the Indian Church.

The Indian Christians have not been able to create either a national or united church as yet. Nor they have developed any culture which may be called their own. They have been fed more or less by foreign missionaries and foreign cultures. There is also the problem of indigenous versus foreign forms and ceremonials and ways of life. Some of the Indian Christians have however taken a great part in the movement of conversion and of social service as a handmaid to it. Their social service has taken the form of medical help, economic relief, social protection and education. They have founded schools, colleges, hospitals and rescue and relief homes for these purposes which have been imitated by other communities. Pandita Ramabai's work in the establishment of Sharda Sadan or Home of Learning in Poona in 1892 for the education of girls is well known. It was later on transferred to Kedgaon near Poona. It was a great pioneer work. She however did not encourage western fashions of life amongst her pupils and proteges, but wanted them to adhere to the old simple customs of food, dress and life. She worked devotedly and under great hardships in famine stricken areas and rescued a large number of girls from misery and sin. Her two other institutions Mukti-Sadan (Home of Salvation) and Kripa Sadan (Home of Rescue) were also located at Kedgaon. She worked there from 1896 to 1922.

11. SOCIAL REFORM.

The rise of Modern Social Reform movement.—Modern social reform movement along with a general awakening of the people is due to a contact with and attack by European society, morals and culture, European education, science and literature. Their principles and ideals, their successes in worldly life in its various branches, and their rule in India awakened Indian

social thinkers to a consciousness of new dangers and new freedom coming in their wake. An examination of the new and a study of the old began. As a consequence a revival of old and better customs, an assimilation of new and useful ways began to be preached. A change in the ideas of good and vigorous life took place and the social reform movement began. Attacks of Christian missionaries, and new social theorists upon the old ideas of Hindu society and religion, and large conversions into non-Hindu religions thoroughly roused the society first to oppose in their bitterness, then to study and later to value the necessity of social reform. Severe attacks were made against what were called new fads and fashions. Social reformers were themselves attacked in the press, on the platform and in other ways sometimes severely rebuked or ill-treated. Both the attacks on the old and against the new were very severe. Two schools, one of reformers and the other of orthodoxy, arose and took opposite sides in the controversy.

Attack on social reformers.—Social reformers were attacked as blind imitators and admirers of every thing foreign. They did not differentiate between essentials and non-essentials. They were accused of enmity or half-heartedness towards national political movement, and of their one-sided idea of reform. They did not show in their life any real love, sympathy or sacrifice for the sake of achieving their new ideals. They were found to be engaged in personal advancement and did this work of social reform by writing or preaching in leisure hours. They were a class of loyalists who would not see and condemn forcibly the wrongs of government, but on the contrary try to attribute some divine character to foreign rule in India. Lastly, the people believed that their character as a whole did not justify their position as social leaders, and that it was the right of the religious acharyas and caste organisations to advocate and to adopt reforms. Not even government by state legislation had any right to interfere in the social and religious customs and institutions of the people. Social-reform was to be slow, cautious and gradual.

Attack on the orthodox.—The orthodox people were attacked for their blind reverence for whatever existed. They did not show any desire to know what is the need of society, and what is best life and its organisation. They were accused of killing and deteriorating society by their blind attitude towards new and valuable ideas. They refused to look at the dangers to society and the havoc created by foreign missionaries by conversions and the discontent raised by their humanitarian

methods and principles of social service and freedom. Their ideas of life did not help material progress and political regeneration and unity. It was only a blind or frowning attitude.

A new class of workers and a great national awakening.—While these controversies went on a new class of workers who actually wanted to carry out some of their new ideas in practice arose and gave a real turn to social reform movement. They made reform real and showed the public its good and evil results in particular questions and problems they undertook to investigate and to solve. Female education, widow remarriage, adult marriage, intermarriage, removal of untouchability, spread of education and other social problems began to be regularly worked out in institutions started by zealous, hard-working, and honest persons. This destroyed the sharp edge of social reform controversy. The public apathy disappeared owing to various influences. The spread of education and science, the preaching of modern religious movements, the study of the best and ancient Hindu literature by foreign and Indian scholars, the untenable position of some of the old customs, the missionary philanthropy in schools, colleges and hospitals in looking after the welfare of the sick, the famine-stricken, the orphans, the lepers, the downtrodden and others, and some of their large but peaceful conversions awakened their conscience and intelligence and moulded the mind of the young generation to the necessity and reception of reform ideas. This was largely helped by the presentation made by great scholars of the best and highest ideals of ancient Hindu society which were more in accord with modern ideas than the medieval ideas of Hinduism. The result was the awakening of a new national outlook on all social problems facing India.

The problem of social reform.—The problem of social reform is very difficult in India. No doubt we have a back-ground of common traditions in our religions, laws, customs, institutions and even in their later perversions or confusions. But really speaking our social problems are different with different castes and communities, provinces and creeds. One type or one method of social reform is impossible for all. Some common principles and methods, some common limitations and aims may be recognised, but each group will have first to consider its present level of social efficiency and ideas. A number of special reforms have to be adopted and evils to be eliminated before a common social platform for reform can be created.

The aim of social reform.—The chief aim of social reform will be to lead society to strength, purity and freedom so as to stop

the stagnation and deterioration of the race which is going on physically, morally and intellectually. Rise of discontent in society is a danger to its strength and co-operation. Therefore a reform of social abuses is necessary and an adoption of certain principles of social justice, feeling and behaviour is to be striven for. Hindu society is to-day not efficient, strong, and free. It may have survived in the past because of a suitable medieval environment. To-day the environment has changed in every way politically, socially, religiously, economically and educationally. There are new ambitions and new conditions of life. Hindu society is seen to be unable to bear their strain. It is fallen in various ways. Its various elements are not equally and properly treated. Its various groups are not properly balanced and harmonised. Its vitiated and vicious parts are not segregated, eradicated or improved. There is a conflict and discontent within, there is an attack and conversion from without. It stumbles at every new step which it takes to progress because of its internal maladjustment and confusion. There is no unity or harmony within. Early models of social life are still admired and loved because they are old or because there is a feeling of horror and a fear of hell if they are broken. The hold of old injunctions and customs is very strong. There is a belief in their efficacy, goodness and strength because of their long continuity and preservation under various circumstances. Regard for fictitious purity and not strength is the aim in life. Fear of change and its unknown results is ingrained in blood. These are some of the obstacles to a proper valuation of social life and organisation.

Old society cannot continue.—New social reformers have to a certain extent examined the bases of old society and the needs of a new society. They have pointed out what they think as social evils. They have studied the Sastras and shown what they have authorised as peremptory or otherwise, and what is the real nature of the customs and institutions they have advocated. To-day they hold that old isolation and seclusion are not possible. Interdependence, association, and co-operation are the laws of the world. Contact and conflict of various ideas, customs and institutions must give rise to new values which will respond to new environment and new necessities. Otherwise there will be a decay and death of our social life it being left without any vigour to meet the new circumstances of human life.

Spirit actuating social reform.—The spirit which actuates social reform to-day is to liberate man in order to develop

originality, enterprise and self-reliance in him in worldly life. What is latent, good and powerful in him must be allowed to come out, and not suppressed under social forms. He is to be led from false constraint to real freedom, from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from authority to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of human worth and dignity, from egoism to altruism, and from unorganised to organised life.

Our social ills.—Our present ills are many. Our physical deterioration, our weakness of character, our extreme license in some and extreme bondage in other things, our want of initiative, power and cohesion, our intellectual poverty and moral cowardice are evident to all. Our social experts have concentrated their attention on the problems of unification of castes, removal of untouchability, bar to conversion, joint family, intermarriage, interdining, remarriage, adult marriage, old age marriage, polygamy, purchase and sale of brides, age of consent, dowry system, female education, Sati, widow's position and profession, temple prostitution, purdah, and dignity of women. These are some of the prominent problems which are considered to be facing us. Early marriage and motherhood have brought about our physical deterioration, a large infant death rate, and the lowering of average limit of age. Others have resulted in degrading our women's position and part in society. Rigidity of caste system and untouchability have destroyed the organic unity and vitality of society and left it without a common aim and a central organisation. Every person does not feel himself to be a part and parcel of the whole society. He has no place and share in the whole group. The conception of society as a unitary organism must be developed. Society must make the life of every one possible and good and progressive.

In the past we as a society hardly paid attention to these problems. Each family or caste did what it liked or what suited it. Each group settled its own social problems, and laws, its advance and outlook. Its movement, if any, was of slow assimilation. That there was change in the old rules and methods of life is undoubted. The maxim that custom is stronger than an injunction of Sastra left independence to the group to follow what it adopted as custom. There was another way in which social advance took place. The interpretations of religious teachers and the rise of new religious sects introduced new thoughts and new practices of life in society which influenced others. But on the whole we considered that our system of social life was perfect and divinely sanctioned and that no change was

necessary. Backward castes were to make approaches to it as the highest system. Our Karma theory wrongly understood created a passive acquiescence in evil or in calamity. Our intense otherworldliness created amongst us a general indifference to secular interests, almost bordering on fatalism. The conception of man's high dignity and destiny in this very life under a discipline of better ideas and forms with the help of his new Karma or efforts was not largely held. Heredity and birth and not free-will and action were the only factors recognised in determining the essentials of social organisation.

Methods of reform.—Leaving aside those who are orthodox (Sanatani) or conservatives and who believe in “whatever is best or divine, right and perfect,” and who may be termed Daivavadi, we see that there are those who believe in voluntary reform and those in compulsory reform. Compulsory reforms are brought about by the state or caste by means of its coercive power. They are imposed from without. The state or caste may first ascertain the necessity of reform, but it forces its members to adopt it, and if they refuse it punishes them by means of its Danda. In certain cases the laws a state passes may be permissive or obligatory. In the first case the reform becomes optional. The abolition of Sati in 1829 was a compulsory piece of legislation. The Act of Remarriage in 1856 is a permissive one.

Voluntary method.—The voluntary methods are based on imitation, revival, reconstruction and rational adaptation of basic principles of life to new needs by a person, family or caste without any outside force. It may be called the *Sama* or peaceful method of reform from within.

Imitation.—Those who voluntarily imitate and adopt the social ideas and forms of the Europeans do not take into consideration the special features of their past development, and the special needs of their country and climate, and they want to write as it were on a clean state. This is a wrong position. The needs of geographical environment and cultural heritage must be duly considered. All the old customs and beliefs are not wrong, on the contrary many of them are the only suitable ones and not the others. Man's past must be considered in laying out plans for his future. Reform must be based on certain basic principles of social life which must respond to human needs, environment, and temperament. It cannot be based on mere transplantation of foreign ideas and forms in a new soil not necessarily adapted for its vigorous growth.

The imitation method hence is faulty from this point of view. It is not based on reason, experience, or any definite principles.

Revival.—The method of revival of old ideas and forms which were lost or had decayed in course of history, but which are good and suitable to modern life, is followed by some. Those who think that the golden age lay in the past and the present is a deterioration from it believe that the old Sastras or codes gave better rules and principles of life and that we have fallen because we have left them. There is another class who accept this method of revival because they want a sanction for what they need in the old Sastras, otherwise they do not feel at ease with the reforms. They believe in the reforms but they are afraid of religious sins and hence they want the support of old Sastras. Thus this revivalist school which bases its reforms on old Sastric texts and their interpretations feels satisfied when it finds that the old tradition is revived, continued and preserved. But there are two objections to this method of the revivalists. What will be their position in case they believe in a particular reform and there is no sanction or trace of it in old literature? Secondly, disputes will arise as to what is old and sanctioned and what is otherwise; which period in our past history or which treatise in our literature is to be taken to depict our standard ways of social life, and what portion of it is to be revived and what to be neglected, is it to be a full revival? Otherwise some bad customs and forms which have decayed because of the progress in the social sense of the community and their untenability in a better environment will have to be revived. Whatever is old is not necessarily good or gold, just as whatever is new is not to be considered as good. Every custom, belief and institution requires examination on its merits considering the needs of the country, the time, and the character of the people. Otherwise we shall have to revive the old customs of Niyoga, Sati, polygamy, animal sacrifice and a number of others which our higher social conscience has abolished. This method takes conservative people ahead in matters of reform when they find sanction in the old texts for the new 'sin' they think they are committing.

Rational reconstruction.—The method of reconstruction of society based on rational consideration and adaptation of its basic principles to new needs appeals to the developed conscience of the people, their sense of right and wrong, their rational ideas of happiness and misery and their essential wants and utilities. This method does not altogether neglect social traditions and ideals, the power of long-formed habits and

tendencies, but it also looks to new factors of life and new principles of progress or happiness, and thus tries to adjust the past with future. It is neither orthodox nor heterodox, neither reactionary nor revolutionary. It boldly faces the needs of society and tries to reconstruct it and adopt its life to new environment and new progress. It makes the existence, vigour and virtue of society possible and progressive. There can be no best form of society which is not based on knowledge of man, his life, and the needs of his physical, and social environment. There cannot also be one form of society which is true for all times, and all types of men. The character of the age and of the man must be considered every time because both are changeable and not static. They want to produce the ideal out of the actual.

Revolutionary method.—The revolutionary method of creating absolutely a new type of society based on certain principles of life which are not old is one which is followed by the adventurous few. They break the bonds of the past and create new social sects which oppose all old forms on grounds of reason based on their new principles. Just as the orthodox or the reactionary holds to a fixed old type of life considering it to be the most perfect and even divinely sanctioned and was in his day a revolutionary, so the revolutionary or heterodox of today holds to a fixed new type of life considering it to be the most perfect and even divinely inspired and rationally worked out. This method creates first schism or Bheda in society and forms a new camp or caste which later on becomes as orthodox in its principles as the old from which it separated and opposes change. It does not inspire a large mass of people to accept the value of reform because of its extreme and rigid attitude. It does not remain receptive nor become responsive to new needs, and principles which were unknown when its social organisation was created.

Evolutionary method.—Social reform is better and more stable if it follows largely the method of slow absorption and assimilation and not sudden conversion and revolution. Reforms must not be an imposition but must bring about a change in outlook and mentality to be real and beneficial. In some extreme cases alone compulsory method must be adopted so as to decrease large social evil which is the result of an old custom.

Brahmos in Bengal adopted the revolutionary method. Arya Samajists in northern India followed the revivalist method by adopting the Vedas and Manusmriti as their ideal religious and social schemes of life. Sanatanists follow the maxim "whatever is, is best," and not necessarily

"whatever is old, is best." The Hindu Sabhaites have adopted the methods of reconstruction and adaptation to new conditions of life, namely, the method of Sangathan and Suddhi, in which Sangathan reconstructs and organises the body and Shuddhi converts and changes the mentality of the society. They are reformatory and not revolutionary. Maharashtra and other parts are now following this line of reform. They do not believe in a break with the past but do not stop in the past. They want to do away with corruption, and respect the best spirit and tradition of the old. Converts to Islam and Christianity are blind imitators of new customs and reforms in which they merge themselves. They will change along with their fold. Buddhists, Jains, Lingayats, and Sikhs created schism in the past. They were able to convert some or many but could not reconstruct the whole society. Ideal teachers created new groups of followers, but society retained its old ideas and sometimes became more rigid due to these schisms and oppositions.

Indian Social Reform in 19th and 20th centuries.—Personalities, institutions and forces which forced the problem of social reform on the public in the 19th century may be enumerated as follows :—

✓ (1) PERIOD FROM 1800-1830.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy is the greatest personality of this period. Then come the Christian missionaries, and Christianity. Lastly come the British system of government, its officers and scholars. They promoted new education in schools and colleges, revived and criticised old books and ideas, compared the new with the old, and passed laws against Sati, Thagi and female infanticide. Vernacular journalism appeared as a new force at this stage.

✓ (2) PERIOD FROM 1830-1875.

Debendranath Tagore, Keshaba Chandra Sen and Brahmo Samaj continued their activities. Dayananda Saraswati started his campaign and preaching. Missionaries continued their conversions and criticisms. Government adopted western education instead of oriental education as its aim under the influence of Macaulay and missionaries. All of them helped in founding schools, colleges and universities and advocated female education. Laws were passed regarding the validity of remarriage of widows. Social unrest increased and severe attacks of a large class of social reformers were made against

Hindu society and religion. Foreign scholars continued their researches and publications of old Indian religious, philosophical, and literary works. All this awakened the Hindu social conscience.

✓(3) PERIOD FROM 1875-1890.

Arya Samajists, Brahmo Samajists, Muslims and Theosophists continued their religious, social and educational work. Similarly the missionaries did their work. Conversions of vast masses of depressed classes took place. Counter-attacks against religious and social reformers were made. Men like Ranade and Sayyad Ahmed accepted a revivalist and reformatory position. There was a stir in the leaders of the community about the future of their religion and society. Government pursued its new educational, economic, and political policy and created a new atmosphere in the country. Western civilisation permeated the minds of Indians through English literature and contact, and thus created new ambitions amongst the youth. The study of Aryan civilisation and culture was conducted by European and Indian scholars. Their books and publications also influenced the mind of the young and old.

✓(4) PERIOD FROM 1890-1925.

The educated classes and also masses were stirred. An army of monks and teachers went from town to town and delivered lectures strengthening the ancient culture and faith in Hinduism. This led to the revival movement of Hinduism. The work of social conferences and the Bharata Dharma Mahamandal and the speeches and writings of great personalities like Swami Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita, Ranade, Bhandarkar, Annie Besant and a number of others in all parts and provinces of India showed this tendency. There was similar movement in Islam.

Books like Satyarth Prakash, Vivekananda's writings and speeches, Theosophical literature, Ranade's speeches and writings, Tilak's Gitarahasya, Swami Rama Tirtha's works and others bore a testimony of this spirit. The non-Brahmin movement in the South also showed the stirring up of other castes and communities.

Government and missionary policy continued. The Age of Consent Bill controversy and its passing into an Act showed the new governing forces. The Reform Act of 1919 recognised the individual as the basis of society and as a political unit.

(5) PERIOD FROM 1925 ONWARDS.

Hindu counter-reformation now comes. Shuddhi and Sangathan are adopted as weapons of social and religious reforms. Hindu Society is trying to consolidate against others' attacks and conversions. Social evils which have deteriorated it are strongly resented. The orthodox hold on the public is loosened. Admission of the converted and others into the Hindu society begins. Sankaracharyas and Sastris take a part in the social reform movement and justify it from texts and from the needs of times. The people begin to believe in the danger to Hindu dharma, civilisation and majority in India. The Reform Act makes communities ambitious and aggressive. Now there is a fight for political rights and communal strength and freedom. Social reform along with political reform is now inevitable. The spirit of democracy is changing the mentality of all.

Social reformers.—The movement for improving the status and condition of women in India was initiated by individual social reformers. They pressed forward schemes and organisations for their education and for removal of their disabilities in matters of marriage, freedom of movement, equality of status in person and property. From the times of Raja Ram Mohan Rai the customs of Sati, child marriage, purdah, prohibition of widow re-marriage, which pressed heavily on the moral, social and physical condition of women were attacked. But now their rigour is greatly reduced and in some places they are given up.

Women's awakening and efforts.—Women have also taken part in their own awakening. Now their various associations and conferences are discussing the problems which affect their life and are suggesting remedies which would minimise the evils which affect them. All-India Women's Conference (1926) holds annual sessions to promote their interests, educational, social, economic and political. It is a body representative of women of all creeds and castes and has branches in all towns.

Institutions for their welfare.—There are also various institutions and organisations in the country looking after their welfare. Seva Sedans, Vanita Vishrams, widows' homes, rescue homes, maternity centres, Mahila Samitis, Women's Colleges, Zanana Associations, vigilance societies, are all doing useful work. They are all interested in removing illiteracy, purdah, early marriage, prostitution, polygamy, legal disabilities on person, property, and freedom of women, and in promoting their education, economic independence, social equality and personal

freedom. Women are now taking a leading part in guiding their own problems.

Child widows.—There are a large number of child widows in the country who are doomed to a life of enforced celibacy. Out of a total population of 171 million females there are 26 millions widows which give a percentage of 15, whereas the normal percentage is only 7. The census report of 1931 gives 155 widows per 1000.

Two great reformers.—In the matter of widow remarriage movement among others the names of Pandit Ishvara Chandra Vidyasagar (1821-1891) and D. G. Karve (1858-) are worth special mentioning. The former was a great Sanskrit scholar, social reformer and philanthropist who worked zealously for this reform. His efforts led to the passing of the Act of 1856 which legalised widow remarriage and declared the legitimacy of the issue of remarried widows. Similarly Mr. D.K. Karve, a professor of Fergusson College, who remarried a Brahmin widow in 1893 opened a Widows Home, in Poona in 1896 and later Indian Women's University (1916). He worked zealously for women's cause generally and widow's cause especially, and gave a great impetus to their education and social freedom and equality.

Women's present position.—Women are now not debarred from entering the public services though their number is comparatively small. There is no legal bar to women entering any profession. So far women have entered law, medicine and teaching. With regard to arts there is no restriction against women. They are seen amongst musicians, actors, dancers, artists and sculptors. The cinema has attracted many women, and women artists are well paid. Business and commerce are also not a close preserve for men, though few women are known to run their own business or undertake any commercial enterprise on a large scale. They are found engaged in small trades.

India is mainly an agricultural country and therefore a very large number of women are found in agricultural occupation. The proportion of women to men workers is nearly one to three. Women however, are not the principal earners but mainly provide labour in the fields. Women are found in large numbers of industries but mostly as dependent workers.

Thus, though women are not barred by law from entering into any public service, in practice women are not recruited for any service except the medical and educational. While all pro-

fessions are open to women, the competition is so great that few can enter and compete successfully. In industries and agriculture where masses of women are found working they are definitely at a disadvantage as they are paid lower wages than men.

While there is no bar to girls entering schools, there is a dearth of girls' schools in the country. There is no bar to women entering universities either, but generally speaking there is a dearth of women's colleges, and where facilities for co-education are available, there is not an adequate number of hostels for women students. In political matters Indian women are in favour of adult suffrage and want no reservation of seats. In the communal award of 1932 they were given 41 seats in provincial legislatures.

State interference in social reform.—There have been two controversies amongst social leaders in India, one about state interference in social reform and the other of social or political reform first. A large class of people hate the interference of government because it is in the hands of foreigners. Such interference, they consider, is a lurking danger to society, religion, and culture. State however has interfered in social matters through direct legislation, such as prohibition of Sati, legalisation of remarriage, raising of the age of consent. State interference in social matters on its merit is not necessarily opposed by them. State in modern times has a right to remove recognised evils in social laws against particular individuals. Equalisation of individuals in status and freedom is one of its chief functions.

The role of the state in social legislation.—The Indian Government has passed a number of laws which have removed some of the great social disabilities weighing upon women. The Abolition of Sati Act of 1829 and the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act of 1856 were great measures of social reform. The Special Marriage Act of 1872 made polygamy penal, sanctioned widow remarriage, gave women freedom of intermarriage and fixed the minimum age for girls at 14 and for boys at 18 for those who chose to come under that Act. The Age of Consent Act of 1892 raised the age of consummation from 10 to 12. The Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1930 fixed the minimum age of marriage for girls at 14 and for boys at 18, but did not invalidate marriages made against it. The Hindu Women's Property Act of 1937 recognised the rights of widows to a certain share in the property.

All these acts have contributed to the amelioration of women's social life and position.

Moreover the Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935 have recognised and extended the right of women to political suffrage. This has greatly improved their position and freedom in the general life of the country.

Besides passing these acts the government has played an important part in bringing about changes in the social usages of the country to suit the needs of changing times and morals during the last one hundred years. In 1850 the Caste Disabilities Removal Act declared that nobody forfeited one's ordinary rights of property owing to loss of caste or change of religion. Freedom of views and practices in social and religious matters thus came to be assured to the individual. In 1858 the government of Bombay declared open educational institutions to all castes, and those schools which refused to admit untouchables were declared ineligible to government financial help. In 1872 the Special Marriage Act permitted intercaste civil marriages by registration on condition that both the parties declared themselves to be casteless or religionless. In 1923 the stigma attached to the religionless marriage was removed by the Special Marriage Amendment Act. It legalises marriages between persons of different castes and religions. It applies only to the Hindus including Jains, Sikhs and Buddhists. It regulates the matters relating to property according to the Indian Succession Act (1865) and not according to Hindu Law. The Indian Succession Act does not apply to Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists.

Thus the role played by the state from 1829 to 1937 in the matter of social reform is important. It helped to give freedom and equality to individuals in the matter of marriage, of succession to property, and of change of religion and liberated them from caste and religious restrictions. It however did not interfere in or abolish any particular social system or organisation.

Baroda Government has passed legislation prohibiting marriages between old men and young girls, and removing gotra difficulties. Indore Government has passed legislation limiting marriage expenses. Travancore Government has allowed the entry of untouchables into temples.

Priority of social or political reform.— The question of priority of social or political reform is not now so acute, as both the reforms are recognised to be simultaneously necessary.

Social evils delay political advance for want of unity amongst the people, and political slavery deprives the motive force for social reform. Society is like an organism and its progress has to be simultaneous on all sides. One limb or one side cannot develop when others remain undeveloped. Therefore the controversy between social reformers, who were loyalists and did not want political reform, and political reformers who were nationalists and wanted social order to change slowly and spontaneously is now not keen. New generation sees the necessity of national advance on both sides. Hence there is none of the past hatred and opposition between the political and social reformers. There is also now stress laid on economic and religious reforms or advance in order to strengthen the national advance. Man is not partial or one-sided. His various aspects are interdependent and must simultaneously advance so as to be helpful to each other.

Social Reform in its National Aspect.—Rapid means of intercommunication and the necessity of large human groups for the purposes of political safety have made isolation and inequality of small groups-castes and communities-impossible. Equality of behaviour towards all by every group is a national necessity. Toleration of one another's mode of life and the disappearance of the ideas of high and low, or privileged, common and depressed classes, or touchables and untouchables are the needs of our new national life. Common aspirations, common aims and common methods in general social behaviour will lead to the rise of a strong nation. India's future social efforts must lie in transcending caste, and communal, provincial and local boundaries. Even acceptance of the same religion, or submission to the same political power does not minimise cultural, social and local differences or antagonism. To-day India as a united group is a political and material necessity. In order to realise it and permanently stabilise it an attempt at a common social and political ambition and behaviour must be made. Some of the minor local but inherent differences may be allowed to remain in a system of federal constitution. But the country, the state, the unit must be India; provinces and communities will be its divisions for administration or functional purposes. This ideal alone will save Indians from future chaos or civil wars and will give them peace, security and good government which are the prime factors in our future progress in other aspects of life.

Caste movements.—Amongst the Hindus there is a social movement for justice, equality and freedom. It is an attack

on the caste conception of inequality and its possession of privileges. It wants every unit or group of Indian society to develop itself and to form a strong element in the national life of India. There is to be no dominance or monopoly of one caste in public service or social and religious esteem. All are to be equal in the nation and all are to cultivate a feeling of harmony and a desire to work together for the common good and to subserve larger interests of the community.

Their result.—The result, however, of these movements has been to increase caste jealousies and to promote caste interests rather than to create a national outlook or co-operation. It is not merit or national good, but caste or communal interest that counts even if the nation suffers. Every group in its search and assertion of social justice and political equality thinks itself as the whole society or nation and identifies its own narrow interests with the national interest. This attitude and approach has vitiated Indian life. Unless there is a breaking away from narrow group outlook Indian nation will not develop and prosper.

The Justice movement.—The Justice movement started by the non-Brahman party of the Southern presidency preached freedom from caste supremacy and priestly tyranny of the Brahman class which was believed to have contributed to the deterioration of their intellect and talent. It believes in the principle of social justice and equity. According to Dr. T. M. Nair its aim was to enable every unit of Indian Society to develop itself according to its genius and there by to form a strong element in the nationalism of India. Instead of social reform however politics occupied the foremost place in its programme. It was primarily anti-Brahmanic and wanted to share largely in the public offices and services of the country. It had no social inspiration or reformist outlook or any ameliorative programme.

Communal and provincial problem.—At present there are tendencies of reorganisation of the administrative divisions of India from two stand-points, one the communal and the other the linguistic. Mussalmans want it from the communal point of view so as to maintain their majorities in the North-West Frontier province, the Punjab, Sind and Bengal. Hindus want it from the linguistic point of view so as to develop their respective cultures and languages which have provincial shades and literatures. Both movements should not weaken the united political strength of India by their separate provincial and

communal tendencies. Both must submit to national needs and strength. There can be no objection to provincial autonomy in certain matters of cultural development, but it is not to be at the cost of India becoming a strong political power able to maintain her fundamental unity in international rivalries and encroachments, and provincial and communal jealousies.

✓ 9. SOCIAL SERVICE.

Need of social service.—Society is like an organism. Amongst the individuals who compose it some are more advanced, more able, better equipped than others who are disabled, afflicted or helpless. Society can exist and progress if all of its members are efficient, harmonious and in good condition. A member of the society must help another in need and difficulties, otherwise he himself is affected adversely by his bad surroundings or associates. Mutual help and service are a social necessity as well as a human morality if mankind is considered in the spirit of brotherhood. It becomes the duty of every one to remove disabilities and consequent miseries of their brethren and to help them in obtaining opportunities of living a healthy and full life. This social work must be considered not as an act of charity but of responsibility, of justice and social betterment.

What it does.—It consists of all kinds of work done by people in a selfless way with the specific intention and object of making the society and the world better and happier. Social servants pay attention to the weak and also to the wicked, to the waifs and vagabonds, whose presence is a drag on or danger to society. They try to lift them out of their conditions and temperaments in a spirit of brotherliness and service and thus spread happiness and good ways of life amongst mankind.

Social service in the past.—This work has been done by individuals single-handed or through institutions. In old days Bhiksus or monks carried on the work of education, medical relief, charity and spiritual enlightenment in all parts of the country. Emperor Asoka helped in this work. Village communities also did the work of helping individuals in the village by maintaining hospitals, wells, shady trees, food-distributing centres, rest-houses, and provided water, food, and medicine for birds and animals. Similarly rich Vaisyas and caste organisations helped the poor, the sick, the learned and the religious. It was king's duty to give help to all these including orphans and widows and look after their maintenance.

Social service in modern times.—In modern time the old methods still continue and new methods and organisations have come into existence to organise social work and service. *Sewa Sadans* look to the wants of helpless women, to their medical relief and education and professions. *Sewa Samitis* look to the economic, social and religious uplift of the aborigine, such as *Bluks* or do volunteer work in large crowds and congregations on religious festival days. *Social Service Leagues* look to questions of prohibition of drink or temperance, child nurture, maternity wants, prostitution, sanitation, hygiene, and to the spread of good word, deed, and thought.

Special missions. Special missions look after depressed classes, criminal tribes, orphans, helpless women and homeless widows, diseased and disabled persons and create industrial homes. There are *Red Cross* and *Crescent Societies* who look after the wounded in war. *Ambulance corps* take charge of and render first aid to those hurt in busy towns or wars. *University settlements* work amongst the slums of the industrial cities and help in sanitary housing, sanitation, education, medical relief, prohibition of drink, and prostitution and general morality. *Christian missions* and the *Salvation Army* have done this work for a long time under various circumstances and in different parts and peoples of the country though with an object of converting those whom they help. Governments have often helped these bodies directly with money and influence. *Arya Samajists* and *Brahmo-samajists*, *Ramakrishna Asrams* and *Hindu Sabhas* are also doing this work without government help but as God's work. Without a religious basis and fervour social work amongst the lowest and the filthiest is not possible, nor it is continuous, progressive or permanent.

Growth of a social conscience and the science of social service.—Growth of a social conscience requires higher religious and moral ideas. Humanitarian sentiments of love, friendship, brotherhood and service are the manifestations of a universal or Vedantic type of religion. Buddhist and Christian missionaries have shown it in the past, and new moral humanitarian ideal is doing it in the present. The social worker is now properly trained in the work he has to undertake. He must know the problems he has to deal with and the various methods of approach to them. There are now institutions to educate a social worker. They have made social surveys of villages and towns and know the various methods of proper social service in various matters affecting the persons who are to be served or the conditions which are to be met with. There is growing

up a science of social service. But the essential thing is social spirit or humanitarian conscience.

Social work is concerned with the detailed study and better adjustment of complex social relations. The aim of social work is to discover and classify the conditions of maladjustment in social relations, trace their causes, and devise agencies and methods for their removal. The growing conception that we are members of a single society and that it is possible to do in a concerted way what we cannot do effectively in separate efforts has given impetus to social work. It aims at the development of personality and of group life through adjustment systematically effected between persons and groups and the social environment.

A number of societies, like Ramakrishna Missions, Hindu and Christian Missions, Servants of India Society are guiding and doing such work

Inspiring leaders and their work and institutions.—It was Mr. M. G. Ranade (1842-1901) who was the pioneer in Western India of a number of movements, social, religious, economic and cultural. It was he who took a leading part in the Prarthana Samaj movement. The Indian Social Conference was inaugurated by him. He had a largeness of vision, a greatness of character, a massive intellect and a constructive aim. He clearly grasped the underlying principles of western civilisation and applied them so as to suit Indian conditions. It was under his inspiration and leadership that Mr. G. K. Gokhale worked. In 1905 Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society. Its object was to train national missionaries for the service of India and to promote by all means the true interests of the Indian people. Its devoted members carry on various social and educational activities which are a credit to their zeal and spirit of social service. The various institutions which they have established and are working well are (1) The Social Service League of Bombay (1911) which studies social problems and performs social and educational work; (2) The Seva Samiti of Allahabad (1914), which organises social service during fairs, famines, floods, epidemics, promotes education, co-operation, sanitation and physical culture, works for the uplift of the depressed and reclaims and rescues the fallen; (3) The Scouts Association of Allahabad which organises the Boy Scout movement on indigenous lines; (4) Bhil Seva Mandal (1922) which works for the uplift of the Bhils and other aboriginals by imparting religious and vocational training; (5) The Seva Sadan of Poona which

helps the education of women and gives them literary, medical industrial and social service training. It has branches at Madras, Bombay, Nagpur and other centres and (6) The Village uplift and reconstruction work which is done at various places.

Its members are carrying on very useful work amongst the depressed classes under the auspices of the Harijan Sevak Sangh in all parts of India for their uplift and betterment.

Gandhi.—Mahatma Gandhi's movement has also contributed very largely to the development of social service and work in India. It has brought a new humanitarian and social outlook to bear upon and solve the problems of untouchability, sanitation, hygiene, health and the evils of our society, and created a love for and a joy in social work, service and sacrifice. His personal life and example and day to day work, his followers and ashrams, his humanitarian message and philosophy, have all created a revolution in our national life and awakened our people as never before to think for themselves and to reconstruct their life personal and social in accordance with his noble idea.

There are in the country a number of Hindu missions and Sevamandals which are carrying on the work of social service, reclamation and purification of the fallen, and conversion of the aborigines, removal of untouchability and others, and thus strengthen and invigorate our society. All-India, provincial and communal social conferences held annually have also done useful work in recognising social evils and creating public opinion against them.

CHAPTER VII.

Our Cultural life.

"Thou art pure speech, intelligence, and joy"

"Culture is the expression of inner spirit and response."

Upanishads.

Meaning of culture.—Culture is the refined expression of the spirit of a people. It can never be perfectly realised or expressed in forms or words. But behind every one of them it is there. We find behind Indian culture a certain inspiring ideal and a certain outlook and motive power. It is expressed or uttered in a variety of ways. The chief of them are art and literature.

Spirit of Indian culture.—Indian culture as expressed in her art and literature—in architecture, sculpture and painting, in music, philosophy and poetry—has a spiritual aim and inspiration. They deal with one behind the many and the real beyond the illusory and depict the ultimate unity of all life which is intimately bound together by its indwelling spirit and by its common destiny. This is the true source of the spirit of Ahimsa, tolerance, gentleness, compassion, love and fellow-feeling which inspires India's whole culture. India believes that spiritual values are greater and more real than the things of sense. This belief has inspired her classical art and literature which is a blend of the secular and the spiritual, the former being subordinated to the latter. The chief characteristic of our culture is that our intellectual achievement, moral and religious ideals, our sense of value, our goal of conduct are all determined and subordinated to the spiritual values of life as a whole.

Its importance.—The study of our cultural life—our arts and literatures is important from the point of view of understanding our spiritual, emotional and intellectual outlook and expression and the ethical message and human contact it gives to our citizens. Our civic life will be richer in joy, fellowship and harmony if we understand the deep and broad human note and its potentiality underlying our culture. It extends to the whole creation and gives us confidence in our powers. Man has surplus vital and mental energy vastly in excess of his normal needs. It urges him to work in various activities of culture for its own sake. It gives him joy and happiness in their

pursuit and expression. It reveals itself largely in the form of art and literature which are perpetually creative. In the pictorial and plastic, vocal and verbal arts this energy closely associates and manifests itself. They are the expressions of the response of man's creative spirit to the call of the divine, real or spiritual.

1. ART.

Meaning of Art.—Art is the expression of human creative spirit, intellect or skill in producing what is beautiful, rational or useful. We are here concerned with fine arts which are the expression of the beautiful, and liberal arts which are the expression of the rational. The one includes music, painting; sculpture and architecture. the other, the whole body of literature, science and philosophy. In aesthetics art reveals and expresses beauty where as in religion it reveals and interprets the spirit.

The nature and form of Art.—Man has pursued these arts from ancient times in order to express his inner feelings, reason, emotions, sentiments, and tastes in their highest, noblest, and most beautiful forms with the help of his senses and organs on and with suitable materials with the aid of implements in order to experience pleasure himself and to share it with others, or to create those feelings in others. These beautiful or rational expressions are either in the nature of movement, voice, or form which please the eye, the ear, or the heart and create response and joy in others. The artists follow certain limits in expressing them. But they are not rigid. Freedom is always necessary in using or adopting them while creating the works of art.

Its origin.—Art has originated in various traits or needs of man. His sportive instinct, his desire for attraction, his joy in imitation, his will to be remembered, and his nature of sharing his extreme feelings of joy, sorrow or devotion with others by various bodily, mental or vocal expression, or through other objective shapes and forms, have all contributed to the rise, continuity and development of art.

India has developed its own art-conventions and associations, tastes and technique. The artist generally delineates and expresses his work in these terms, symbols or limits, but in the heights of his creative impulse he may neglect them and express himself fully in a new way and in a new mould.

The note of Indian Art.—Notwithstanding the endless diversity of races, creeds, customs and languages, India as a whole

has a character of her own which is reflected in her art. The real Indian Art is essentially Hindu. The Hindu genius produced its own peculiar and essentially original art. It is a product largely of religious emotion. The best art is a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotions of the people and their deepest thoughts on the subject of the Divine. Mr. E. B. Havell says it possesses "A depth and spirituality which never entered the soul of Greece" in its sublime imagination and loftiest idealism.

Its spontaneous growth and character.—Indian art grew spontaneously out of its own environment and temperament. Its forms, character and expressions evolved out of its social needs, religious and philosophical ideals and geographical influences. It represented people's ideas or experience and served their purposes of life, and not individual types or traits. It is produced by artists who follow certain past traditions and technique. Mr. A. C. Swami says that changes in form or in quality which distinguish the art of one age from that of another reflect the necessities of current theology and the changes in racial psychology, vitality and taste. There is no purpose or calculation in the change on the part of the artist. The best artists give the mind or the heart of the age, that is, the aspirations, ideals and forms in which they live, and their highest art is charged with spiritual intensity and spiritual message and sometimes with intellectual and emotional revelations. The message is one of seeking the highest joy and peace, friendship and compassion in the universe. Mere imitation or representation of nature is not the aim of Indian art. It wants to reveal what lies behind nature and its forms. Therefore there is no realism or the imitation of an object. It wants to depict true reality of the universe and not the changing world and its temporary and accidental forms. The absolute or the real behind all is God, and the function of art is to interpret Him to all. This could be done by deep concentrated thought and intuition or imagination born of it. Therefore if art is imitation it is imitation of Divinity which is not visible but which can be grasped by intuition and deep contemplation. Hindus regard all human life as religious and therefore in representing life it is done for the sake of representing the Divine which inspires and actuates it. This is done by subordinating the representation of the usual conceptions of human beauty and form to the ideal of representing only the ultimate realities and abstractions of human life. The accurate representation of physical beauty or forms is a hindrance to the complete expression and grasp of

the artist's divine revelations. It is rejected as an unnecessary detail.

The conception of beauty is always coloured by love. In India however this love is the love of the absolute and universal when the religious art is at its best. Human love, if expressed, generally indicates the conception of Divine within.

Western Art.—The Western art is greatly realistic and much developed in its technique. It wants to represent objective perfection, the physical beauties, the human tastes, the natural objects, and not so much the divine in human form or in other objects. Its ideal is the ideal of human form, human activity, strength, and love as admired in this world, and not the idea of spiritual devotion, repose, and harmony with its smooth, slender and refined or ascetic forms and bodies. There is no mystery or mysticism in Western art. It is satisfied with its objective attitude and the proper or ideal representation of its worldly objects and passions. Consequently it has succeeded in developing mechanical perfection of decorative details. The far-off quest of the soul, its divine love, its spiritual struggle, its relation to God and the Universe which are transcendental in character are hardly studied, realised or expressed. The spiritual man, how he walks, sits, speaks, behaves, looks is not revealed in their works. Its standards of taste are more intellectual and more human than metaphysical and spiritual. The Western art pleases by its worldly familiarities, the Indian art appeals when one realises the manifested Divine behind.

Indian art like Indian civilisation is a true expression of its ideals and culture, and is animated in its various expressions by the same common spiritual spirit which subordinated the claims of body and this world to the aims of the soul and the next world. It is a surrender of human soul and its worldly ambitions to the Divine soul and its manifestations. Christian medieval art represents similar ideals. It emphasises more the bringing of 'the Kingdom of Heaven on the Earth.' Hence the statue of every saint, the church of every sect, and the picture of every Madonna breathes the influence and message of the Divine in man or through man and his surroundings. Similarly the Indian art delineates Indian dreams and thoughts of God, and not the usual realities of an imitative or worldly art. This synthetic note in the Indian art harmonising the individual with the Universal is the characteristic of its highest art. India, however, has not neglected the lower or worldly, human or secular art. Her own people spontaneously, or under the in-

fluence of foreigners like Greeks, Persians, and Europeans, have created works of art, which represent entirely human conceptions of taste and beauty, in their historical, political, social, or individual subjects without any touch of religious emotion in it. But in these they have not specialised and owe something to foreign technique and taste. The pictures and statues of historical personalities and places, wars and market-places, lovers and their meetings, and various other incidents in a royal career or in a lover's intrigues are realistic representations of worldly life. But these are not India's specialities or distinctions. Only a statue or a fresco of a calm and compassionate Buddha, a temple of Visnu or Siva worship or a mosque of prayer characterises a large part of Indian life and its aim. The religious tone and ideals behind them are characteristically Indian with their large synthetic vision rising above the conflicts of evanescent daily life and leading to Mukti or Nirvana, contentment or bliss in a union with the Divine, and as an eternal salvation from worldly miseries, sorrows, and attachments which is the goal and gospel of Indian life, where man becomes the Whole, the God.

This highest ideal is fully expressed in our works of painting, sculpture and architecture and in our best music where Divine love, and soul's hankering for Divine love and association are fully depicted or sung.

The ideal spiritual man.—In them Moksha, Nirvana or Kaivalya became the be-all and end-all of human existence. Their ideal man or superman was a Parivrajaka or a Bhiksu or a Yati. How this superman lived, sat, spoke walked and contemplated came to be the thing to be known and remembered. There was no cult of gods and their worship. In the early period there was no thought of expressing these spiritual poses and truths in art. But at a later period when Buddhists came in contact with the world outside India, especially the Persian and Hellenic, they were inspired to record their spiritual ideas in images and pictures. They especially carved or painted the incidents in Buddha's life in stones and on walls. It was this spiritual devotion and inspiration which developed their art.

But this highest Indian ideal was never realised in the Gandharan art. The lofty calmness and contemplation, simplicity and compassion of Buddha are not there. Indian art wanted to bring something of the beauty of the other world and its tones into this world.

The best period and examples of Indian art are inspired by religious ideals both Hindu and Mussalman. The relics of

these numerous examples of art in temples, mo-ques, tombs, and ghats indicate this fundamental fact of the mind and spirit behind all our art, pictorial, plastic, or architectural, namely, to bring or to represent the spiritual in the world.

Music, its religious character. - The art of music in India is as old as the Vedas. Its form and spirit are the typical creations of the Hindus genus, where in the Mussalman and the foreigner have completely merged themselves and have become Indian in everyway. The greater part of Indian music is religious or devotional. Hymns of the Sama Veda, songs of saints, and prayers of priests, encouraged the development of the various Ragas of music to be sung at different times and to meet or to evoke various sentiments of the singer and the hearer, the devotee and the divinity. The love, the fear, the joy, the sorrow, and various emotions which rise in human soul burst out in expressions which captivate the hearer and produce in him similar feelings and join human hearts. Similarly the devotee communes in songs with his Deva and gets himself in tune with Him in his ecstatic mood.

Music is not only a self-enjoyment helping to pass time or trouble. It creates a union of hearts and souls between self and other, man and nature or God. The intense yearning of the human soul for the object of his union is seen when he devotes his various periods of time to please his god in various types of songs, as a lover would do to attract and please his beloved.

Its masters.—India is a land of music which has been highly developed as an art by Indians. Society, religion, royalty and nature all encouraged it, both vocal and instrumental. Dancing also forms a part of music in India. Gita, Vadya and Nritya are the chief elements of music, in the ecstasy, rhythm and melody of which man loses himself and becomes one with the emotion or universal spirit which he is evoking. The mouth, the hand and the foot are the three limbs used for producing music. It is loved not only by human beings but also by birds and beasts. It relieves physical and mental troubles and concentrates mind and heart on a subject or emotion. Music has its science which has been developed by great singers. Every kind of it has its own rules of composition, time and expression. It is definitely known which Raga evokes what particular feeling and creates what particular environment. There are two methods of Indian music, Northern or Hindustani and Southern or Karnataki. Amongst the great names of the ancient masters of Indian music are there those of 'Gopal Nayak and Amir

Khusrū (13th century) who combined Persian and Indian music by creating new Ragas, Baj Bahadur of Malwa (16th century) and the most famous Haridas Baba and his pupil, Tansen, during Akbar's period (16th century), and Jagannath Kavirai (17th century). There are also a number of other great names. Tansen became a Mussalman, but his descendants have retained their mastery over music and created new Ragas which are sung now everywhere. Mussalman singers have composed songs in praise of Hindu gods, especially Krisna. Krisna has inspired the best music in India, where Hindus and Muslims have lost their religious hatred and combined to evoke the best religious spirit through Krisna and Rama songs. Mussalman families have carried on the best traditions of Indian music.

Indian music is not only religious, but also erotic, amorous, social, natural, warlike. It is one of the best products of Indian genius and shows India's intensely human character.

Its Divine Message.—In this way Indians tried to visualise the divine message or the human spiritual longing or the evolution and involution of the Universe and God's activity through various forms and symbols of art and to keep it before the people so that they might not lose sight of the highest truth in their worldly pursuits. The basis and aim of art is spiritual.

2. LITERATURE.

Meaning of literature.—Literature is the expression of the spirit and the creative mind and emotion of a people. It is the manifestation of the inner self. Its greatness lies in the worth of its substance, the value of its thought and the beauty of its forms. It not only satisfies the highest conditions of the art of speech but brings out and raises the soul and life, and the living and ideal mind of a people, an age, and a culture through the genius of some of its greatest or most sensitive representative spirits.

It is largely the expansion of the Hindu genius.—Indian literature is largely the manifestation and expression of the Hindu genius. The Indo-Aryans created the Hindu culture. Though there are subsidiary strains or currents mixed in it, the main current which has flowed and dominated the course of its history in India is the one born out of the Aryan or Hindu mind. The minor influences and elements which entered it from abroad are to be traced to Muslim and European contact. The intellectual life of a people is generally expressed in the various forms of their literature and in the standards and activities of

their intellectual associations. The forms of literature are many. They may be enumerated as poetry, prose, philosophy, history, social and technical sciences, and religious treatises. Man's mind is manifested in all intellectual and emotional strength and peculiarities in these forms. Indian mind has given them to us in its own way. The early Indian literature may be classified under the old terminology of the Vedas, Brāhmanas, Upanisadas, Vedangas, Saddarsanas, Itihasas, Puranas, Kamasastras. Dharmasastras, Arthasastras, Silpasastras, Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda, Kavyas, Charitras, Natakas, and others.

Some of the works of Indian literature in its varied aspects are to be counted amongst the greatest products of human civilisation. The Indian mental development is of a fine quality and is not yet exhausted. It is unique and the best and most undeniable witness to something extraordinarily sound and vital in Indian culture.

Vedic and Vedantic message.—The early creative mind of Indian is represented in the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the two historical epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Each of them is unique in form and intention, not easily paralleled in any other literature. They represent a fathomless spiritual insight at work, a subtle and intuitive vision, and a deep, clear and greatly outlined intellectual and ethical thinking, and heroic action and creation which made the permanent structure of her culture and civilisation.

According to Dr. Radhakrishnan the Vedas and Upanishads are the visible foundations of her spiritual and religious being. The Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata are a creative interpretation of her greatest periods of life of the ideas that informed, and the ideas that governed it, and the figures in which Indian genius saw man and nature and god and the powers of universe. The Veds are not merely a book of mythology and sacrificial ceremonies, nor are they merely the history, myths and popular religious notions of a primitive people. They have spiritual interest, poetic greatness and beauty. To the seers and thinkers of that age they were a great spiritual revelation and experience. It was a divine discovery and unveiling of the potencies of the word, of its mysterious revealing and creative capacity. They were not the word of logical reasoning or the aesthetic intelligence, but the intuitive and inspired rhythmic utterance, the *Mantra*. Image and myth were freely used as living parables and symbols of things that were very real to their speakers.

Upanishads.—The Upanishads are the supreme work of the Indian mind and the highest self-expression of its genius, its sublimest poetry, its greatest creation of thought and word. They contain a large flood of spiritual revelation. They are at once profound religious scriptures—documents of revelatory and intuitive philosophy of an inexhaustible light, power and largeness ; spiritual poems of an absolute and unfailing inspirations, wonderful in phrase, rhythm and expression. They are the expression of a mind in which philosophy, religion and poetry are made one because its religion does not end with a cult nor is limited to a religious ethical aspiration, but rises to an infinite discovery of god, of self, of our highest and whole reality of spirit and being and speaks of an ecstasy of moved and fulfilled experience. Its philosophy is not an abstract intellectual speculation about truth or a structure of the logical intelligence, but truth seen, felt, lived, held by the inmost mind and soul in the joy of utterance of an assured discovery and possession. Its poetry is the work of the aesthetic mind lifted up beyond the ordinary field to express the wonder and beauty of the rarest spiritual self vision and the profounded illumined truth of self, God and Universe. This is what Radhakrishnan remarks.

Here the intuitive mind and intimate psychological experience of the Vedic seers passes into a supreme culmination in which the spirit discloses its own very body, reveals the very word of its self-expression.

The Vedas and the Upanishads are not only the fountain head of Indian philosophy and religion but of all Indian art, poetry and literature. It was the soul, the temperament, the ideal mind formed and expressed in them which later carved out the great philosophies, built the structure of the Dharma, recorded its heroic youth in the Mahabharata and Ramayana, intellectualised indefatigably in the classical times the ripeness of its manhood, threw out so many original intuitions in science, created so rich a glow of aesthetic and vital sensuous experience, renewed its spiritual and psychic experience in Tantra and Purana, flung itself into new channels of self-expression in the later tongues and now after eclipse reemerges always the same in difference and ready for a new life and a new creation according to the same writer.

The Saddarsanas or six systems of orthodox philosophy, namely, Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya, Vaishesika, Purvamimamsa and Uttaramimamsa, the heterodox systems of Charvaka and Buddha and Jina ; the devotional philosophies of Vaisnavas,

Saivas and Saktas and other minor sects, are the records of Indian intellectual vigour and activity in the ultimate problems of life here and hereafter. The great teachers, Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Vallabha, and the great saints carried on and developed this Adhyatma-vidya or highest spiritual knowledge and bear testimony to the purity, clarity, keenness, vision, imagination and many-sidedness of Indian intellect on its highest plane and level. We also possess a great number of commentators who show in their treatises, these high intellectual powers of the Indian mind.

History.—Indians did not neglect the writing of Itihasa (history) or the past achievements and remembrances of their race. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the eighteen Puranas, Upapuranas, the various Kathas, Akhyanas, Itivrttas, Kulavrttas, Caritas, and treatises like Jatakas, Rajatarangini are a great source of historical material for the early period of Indian history. The great weakness of these historical and semi-historical works has been the want of a fixed and continuous chronology, a fact which has largely minimised their historical value. Another of its serious defects is that its method is less historical and more moral, theological or didactic. Many of these works are good pieces of literature, poetic as well as prose and are studied as such. Some of them, especially the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, have later on been either translated or adapted in the various languages of India, and form the main literary treatises in those languages. The Ramayana of Tulsidas in Hindi is a masterpiece of poetry, morality and religious teachings. Similarly the Ramayana of Sridhara and the Mahabharata of Muktesvara are famous pieces of literature in Marathi. Historical literature in India was meant to serve as an aid to the proper understanding of Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksa.

Poetry.—In Indian Kavyas (poetry) and Natakas (drama) we find the best specimens of literature. The names of Bhasa, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bana, Harsa, Hala, Sudraka, Visakhadatta, Bilhana, Rajasekhara, Jayadeva and others are famous as literary masters and artists. Along with them many moralists of note are Bhartrhari, the authors of Jatakas and Dhammapada, Panchatantra and Hitopdesa, and Chanakya, Vidura, Bhishma, and others.

Socio-religious books.—Books on Dharmasastra, such as those of Manu and Yajnavalkya, Narada and Visnu; on Arthasastra, such as those of Kautilya and Kamandaka, Sukra and

Somadevasuri ; on Kamasasra, such as those of Vatsyayana and others ; and on Mokshasatra, are numerous. They treat of religious, social, political, economic, domestic and spiritual aspects of life in a practical way and in a philosophic mood. These works possess great literary, scientific and philosophic merit, and have organised all the aspects of man's life here and hereafter. Each one of these standard treatises have been expounded later on by great commentators whose commentaries also possess great intellectual acumen and merit. The Mahabharata also treats of these topics lucidly.

Sectarian literature.—Sectarian literature both Samskrit and Prakrit of Bauddhas, Jainas, Vaisnavas, Saivas, Saktas and others contain works of great literary and intellectual value.

Medieval and devotional literature.—During the development of modern Indian languages the intellectual life of India found expression in translations and adaptations of the old Samskrit literature, especially, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and in composition of devotional songs and poetry and of saintly biographies. There were very little independent literary or intellectual activities till the beginning of the 19th century, when a new era was ushered in and a great impetus given to intellectual and literary development. During the middle ages names of saints, such as Dyaneswar, Namadeva, Ekanath, Ramadas and Tukarama, in Maharastra ; Narsi Metha and Mirabai in Guzerat and Rajasthan ; Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas in northern India ; Nanak in the Punjab ; Chandidas, Chaitanya and Krittivasa in Bengal ; Vidyapati in Behar and a large number of others in different parts of India developed devotional religion and poetry. There were a number of learned Pandits and poets who composed or adapted in provincial languages in a poetic form the ancient Epics and Puaranik stories and biographies. There were also some independent compositions relating to social, political, moral, religious, and historical life both in poetic and prose forms. The bardic literature, the Bakhar literature, the Kulavrttas and Kulakathas, the Rajaniti books and the state documents are the various forms in which the intellectual activity of that period may be traced.

Persian composition.—There was also an intense literary activity in Persian language in which Muslims and Hindus wrote books of great historical, biographical and administrative value. History writing was well-developed amongst Muslim authors and their various Tawarikhs and Nāmās are a standing monument to their interest and mastery in this art of writing and

literature. They also composed poems on social or erotic or devotional subjects in Persian. They are generally collected as Diwans of famous poets. Sufi literature had its devotees and students. There were treatises, no doubt very few, composed on matters of administration or the art of government, and we possess in the *Ayeen-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazal a standard and detailed treatise relating to government from the pen of a master-mind. It is unnecessary to give in detail here the names and works of authors whose fame has survived as great historians, biographers, poets, saints and Sufis in India. One great fact has however to be noted in connection with them, and, that is, that all these works being composed in a foreign language, the people of the country can only take an academic interest in them. They do not and cannot now inspire or form a model to modern writers whose present standards and sources of knowledge have changed after their contact with the West and its vast sources and varieties of knowledge and art.

Modern literary current and its character.—Since the beginning of the nineteenth century European ideas and forms of literature have revolutionised the mind, mentality and moral and intellectual values of India. New standards in literature have been set up. New forms of poetry and prose have rapidly come into existence. New sciences, social and natural, have been studied, imitated and adopted in educational institutions and intellectual associations and academies. Poetry and drama have taken various forms, aims, shapes and turns which were unknown before. They are not merely devotional, religious or erotic in tone and in subjects, but the various beauties, tragedies and comedies of man and his society, nature and its manifestations are expressed variously and vigorously and evoke in us a sympathetic and responsive sentiment of joy and sorrow, laughter or fear. Man in action as well as in contemplation, Nature in its blessings and destruction, God in His benevolence and punishment, have all received attention and expression in language.

The influence of the 19th century renaissance.—Thus the 19th century renaissance has played a great part in the development of our culture and literature. It has stimulated our intellectual breadth and emotional depth. Increasing contact with western culture and literature, a fresh and finer appreciation of the national culture, a new urge for a thorough reformation in all aspects of our society, a new development in the conditions and problems of our life have all evoked deep thought, creative emotion amongst the intelligentsia in the country.

They have inspired the national literature and culture with a fresh outlook and stirring ideals. They have set up new and higher standards of thought and emotion.

Prose.—Prose writing developed very rapidly. New forms of prose literature, namely, essays, histories, biographies, philosophies, fiction and novel, drama and stories came largely into vogue and helped the advance of knowledge and intellectual life of India. The development of the press and the speeches on the platform, the pulpit and the parliament gave scope for the intellectual expression of ideas—social, political, economic and religious. Colleges and universities encouraged the intellectual growth and the familiarising of the educated with new forms and new ideas.

To-day Indian intellectual life is as many-sided as in a modern European country, and Indians are trying to absorb the new culture and to express it in forms suited to their creative genius and past tradition. India has presented to the world great poets, novelists, dramatists and philosophers whose works are studied and admired outside India. The genius of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore towers to-day in the literary horizon of the world.

Indian intellect has also found its way in developing some branches of scientific studies. The fame of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and of Drs. P. C. Ray and Raman is well-known in scientific circles and academies.

One of the unavoidable handicaps to the full development of Indian intellect is the dominance of the English medium of expression. A large number of good works or studies is done or expressed in English and hence our best compositions do not reach the general mass of the people. There is no impetus to writing in the national or provincial tongues of the people. It is an absolute necessity for the better and fuller expression and utility of Indian intellectual genius that authors should develop writing their thoughts in their own mother-tongue. Until it happens on a larger scale the vigour of Indian intellectual powers will not be noticed, nor appreciated, nor prove fruitful.

Muslim contribution.—Muslims of India have developed a new language based largely on Hindi, Persian and Arabic. Persianisation of Hindi language has resulted in modern Urdu in which Muslim poets and prose writers express their thoughts and sentiments. Urdu forms, words and sayings are largely borrowed from Persian poets and writers. Kasida (odes),

Gazal (love song), Masnavi (historical poem), Marsia (elegy), Rubai (satire) are examples of Persian imitation. The names of Amir Khusru and of a number of others up to Hali and Muhammad Iqbal are famous in Urdu literature. There is also a number of prose writers on history, biography, novels, dramas and other subjects of moral, spiritual and material interest. Under the influence of European ideas and literature it is also taking new shapes and turns, and thus increasing the scope of its utility by translations, adaptations, and independent compositions.

CHAPTER VIII.

Our Education Life

“Education should be based upon three principles—the mean, the possible, the becoming, these three.”

“Men ought not to labour at the same time with their minds and with their bodies. The labour of the body impedes the mind and the labour of the mind the body.”

“Education should not be exclusively directed to this or to any other single end.” Aristotle.

1. HINDU EDUCATION.

Education a people's activity.—Education in India was an activity of the people not a function of the State. State indirectly helped by making gifts of money or grants of lands and villages to famous teachers, learned scholars, and schools and universities. But education was organised by the people and was independent of state control.

Education organised as a social institution.—Education was socially recognised as a necessity in the earliest stage of human development, in the preparation of this and next life. The stage of studenthood was organised as a social institution for the twice-born who were to go through a course of studies and discipline under the guidance of a teacher in a school or a university before they could take to married and professional life.

Various aspects of Education.—Education was divided into religious, philosophical, cultural and scientific aspects on the one hand, and professional or economic on the other. The first relating to religious, philosophical and scientific subjects and the general principles of various Vidyas was imparted in educational institutions, Pathashalas and Vidya-pithas or by renowned teachers in their Asramas, and the other which was more practical and professional and relating to various Kalas was acquired by apprenticeship at home under the father, or in the workshop under the crafts-master's guidance by doing actual work. Therefore we find Brahmana teachers largely teaching divinities, humanities and principles of Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda, Silpasastras and Arthasastras, but for technical education even in those Sastras and Vidyas and much more so in Kalas, students had to attach themselves to professional men, government departments, guilds and others.

Education being in individual hands or private institutions maintained individual freedom and initiative and consequently many distinct schools arose in various branches of knowledge.

The education of the four Varnas.—Hindus desired for all kinds of knowledge. Their very word "Veda" means knowledge. Of course the word came to have a restricted meaning, namely, sacred knowledge as embodied in the four Vedas, which was given by inspired seers or Rishis. But this was only religious knowledge. Hindus aimed at acquiring all kinds of secular knowledge for worldly welfare and for good social organisation. They struggled very hard to preserve whatever knowledge they had and to develop it in spite of great odds. Education and knowledge were hardly neglected. Along with the knowledge of God they devoted themselves to the acquisition of the knowledge of nature, man, human society and other various things from whomsoever it came. The door was always kept open. Every Varna or profession had its own subjects of training. Every Jati member took education in those subjects which belonged to its calling. The courses of training and subjects of study were different for different castes. The Brahmana profession required more the study of religious, philosophical and scientific subjects. From it arose the priest, the philosopher, the statesman, the law-giver, the scientist, the teacher of various branches of knowledge. The Ksatriya profession required a preliminary study of religious and philosophical knowledge, but advanced study of Dhanurveda and Arthasastra, that is, of military science and warfare, political and economic principles of government and people's welfare. From it arose the ruler, the administrator and the fighter. The Vaisya profession required some general culture, religious and intellectual, and a detailed knowledge of the principles and practice of economic or productive professions, that is, agriculture, commerce, banking, cattle-breeding, etc. From it arose the agriculturist, the industrialist, the merchant, the banker. The Sudra class required, if at all, only a knowledge of Kalas, chiefly menial crafts and arts. It supplied artisans and labourers. Higher kind of intellectual education required schools, colleges and teachers. Proficiency in arts and crafts, trades and commerce was developed by actual work in the field, the market or the workshop and in the government department or battle-field.

The picture of a student's life and discipline.—The Mahabharata describes student's life as follows. "One should lead a

fourth of one's life as Brahmachari. In Guru's house these days should be passed in gaining knowledge of theology. The student should go to bed after his teacher, and rise before he rises. He should not grudge to do the work of a menial. Such daily service being done he should sit by the Guru and learn. He should be all along quite chaste and dutiful. He should not dine before the teachers. He should take simple food, not much of seasoned, pungent or sweet articles. He should pay his respects to the Guru and Guru's wife everyday in the morning by touching their feet with both hands. In this way the student should satisfy his teacher by his conduct, finish his course of study, pay some Dakshina to him and go home with his permission to marry and to become a householder."

These rules of discipline fitted him for gaining higher concentration and knowledge. Thus his whole education was more a physical, mental and moral discipline. Here he prepared himself in order to devote later on to the acquisition of higher knowledge or skill in the pursuits he wanted to follow.

A teacher who was possessed of the highest moral and spiritual qualifications and well-versed in sacred lore was to teach the pupil all he knew with his heart and soul in teaching.

A teacher generally taught his sons and pupils who came to him. As a rule a student lived with his Guru till the completion of his study. He might later on go to another for specialisation. Each teacher lived in his own Asrama which was surrounded by his own lands. If he was a renowned teacher students flocked to him from all parts. But in ancient times great teachers congregated at certain religious or literary centres, which became famous educational centres such as Taksasila and Benares, Nalanda and Vikramasila, where all subjects, Vidyas and Silpas, with their specialised branches were taught. Sukracharya mentions 32 Vidyas. To these centres of learning, scholars came from all parts of the country and even neighbouring countries like China and were housed, fed, nursed and taught.

Environment.—In calm places away from the busy centres of towns surrounded by the beauties of nature, its vastness and its vision, the student led a pure virtuous and orderly life under teachers who were learned, selfless, self-controlled, peaceful, compassionate, and simple.

Methods of study.—The student first concentrated his attention on and heard what the Guru uttered and explained. He repeated and understood it, remembered and grasped it, dis-

cussed its subject matter by means of questions, doubts, answers, until he was satisfied. The teacher used the Prasna method or dialogue form, illustrated aptly his subject by stories, parallels, similarities, etc. At the end of the discourse there was a need of self-exertion, concentration and contemplation till the matter became clear and was understood. The teacher satisfied himself with the progress of each student. There was individual attention paid. Debates and discussions between students, between students and outsiders or their teachers took place in a methodical and scientific way. There were also public discussions encouraged by kings and rich men between renowned learned scholars and between learned husbands and wives as that of Yajnavalkya and Maitrayi in the court of Janaka. There were challenges for discussions on behalf of ambitious great scholars for the establishment of their own opinions as that of Sankaracharya, or for the fame of their great scholarship and for literary conquests. There used to be discussions also at great sacrifices or at religious ceremonies amongst learned Brahmanas who were invited and given prizes.

Female education.—Girls were given elementary education in reading, writing, accounting, etc., which was necessary in managing household affairs and its expenses. As a wife she took part in sacrificial performances. But higher kind of intellectual or religious education, or occupational education was not considered necessary for her place in life. No doubt some women were highly educated as Brahnavadinis. Such instances were rare. They may have studied higher philosophy or literature in their father's house under their father who must have been a great teacher. There are instances of such women as Maitreyi, Gargi, Yachaknavi, Arundhati. Some held discussions with their husbands. Some Ksatriya women, such as Draupadi, were learned and educated. They learned at their father's house.

The general course of education given to a girl and the subjects taught are mentioned by Vatsayana. They relate mostly to domestic science and need, such as reading, accounts and fine arts, namely, music, dancing, playing, painting, etc. Vedas were generally not taught to women. But they heard them recited at home and some may have even remembered and other pieces of literature before them in temples, festivals or religious gatherings. We do not find any schools for girls. Whatever they learned at their father's and after marriage heard at their husband's was theirs. There was however no

regular system of education. A women's parents, brothers, sisters, and later her husband were her teachers in the school of family.

Sudra's education.—Sudras were prohibited from studying or reciting the Vedas. Their vulgar speech and accent were considered detrimental to the purity of the Vedas. But all other kinds of education, cultural or occupational, they could have either by means of Kathas recited by peripatetic teachers, or by apprenticeship in arts and crafts in various workshops. Vedic knowledge though prohibited to the Sudras was not of any real economic value. It had ceremonial and ritualistic significance, and the Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and even military-minded and commercially inclined Brahmanas though allowed did not care to study or recite them.

Great centres of learning.—Taksaśila and Benares were noted as centres for the study of all Sastras, grammar, philosophy, texts, etc., Ujjayini for astronomy, the South for Vedic recitations and Vedanta, Bengal (Nuddea) for logic, Nasika and Paitthana for Dharmasastras.

Features of the system.—The religious, moral and natural atmosphere of the hermitage, the personal and homely relations of the teacher and the taught, and the individual attention to each student and the individual promotion, and the devoted spirit in which they associated, are some of the characteristics of the old system of education. Its final aim was the knowledge which led to salvation. For the Brahmana it was largely religious and philosophical, for the priest it was ritualistic and relating to established duties of different groups and classes. Hence prayer, worship and sacrifice largely dominated. Warriors and Vaisyas alone got a touch of worldly mentality and culture in their professional Vidyas and Kalas. The Dharmaidea of established final order and perfection inspired its methods and aims. The poet, the priest and the philosopher were largely created by this system. Other people engaged in political and economic needs of life had to specialise in other places.

. But the study of the Vedas did not mean only religion or prayer. It contained references to nature, arts, industries, fights, expeditions, travels, stories, human characters, animals, descriptions, and required a study of prosody, astronomy, grammar, arithmetic, geometry, philosophy and other things, social, political and economic. In explaining them the intellectual, professional and scientific education of a kind of the students took place.

Its authoritarian character.—Old Hindu education was more of an authoritarian kind. It gave importance to things coming from without and made one accept things in a dogmatic way. The other world dominated more than this world. It entailed severe discipline and service and left less freedom and vision.

Modern education.—Modern education is trying to give more scope and opportunity to the individual. He is not asked to take things on trust but to observe and think for himself. No doubt every one's observation and thought cannot be correct or perfect, but he is made conscious of his power of thinking and thus to progress. But the class system and lecture system have taken away this freedom from the modern student, because there is no actual approach of the student to his teacher in the mass system of lectures. He depends upon his book, which he does not often study but learns by heart to get through an annual examination. The time-limit works disastrously on the individual mind of a student when he is competing with others. and not looking to finding out what every step in his chosen subjects means. The dull and the bright are put in the same atmosphere which does not help the one nor encourage the other.

Buddhist System.—Buddhists spread education amongst the villagers round about their Vihara or monastery. The aim of the monks was to lead a benevolent life and to practise the conquest of all passions and desires by retiring from the busy world into their Vihara. Members of all castes could join the Sangha and become monks. One of their duties was to preach on religious topics to the people coming from villages to the Vihara and to teach their children regularly in a school. They gave both religious and secular education. Students were to respect and to obey their teacher, to salute him in the morning and evening, to do menial work, such as washing clothes, cleaning pots, sweeping the floor, arranging his things, nursing him during illness, and ask him questions about their studies. The teacher was to treat a student kindly and to teach him well, and to make him disciplined, and of good virtue and manners. He was to be pure, strict, and regular, supply all his necessities and look after his health.

Buddhist schools were open to all castes. Education was free and through Prakrit. The subjects taught were religious, and also secular, such as arts and crafts, medicine, etc. Higher education was through Samskrit and Pali. Individual attention was paid to each student. He was individually promoted. There were public debates to test the proficiency of a student.

There was a large number of places where higher education was carried on. A number of public discussions between Buddhists, Brahmanas and Jainas was held by kings at their courts and prizes and gifts distributed to the learned.

Universities.—Buddhist Universities of Nalanda (300- A. D. -850 A. D.), and Vikramasila (800 A. D. -1200 A. D.), have been very famous and have preserved and promoted Indian culture throughout India and the surrounding countries, such as China, Burma, Tibet, Siam, Java. Thus we find the Hindu system of education paid attention to all branches of knowledge and thought. A great intellectual development in philosophy, sciences, art and literature had taken place. Prose, poetry, dramas and various other forms of literature claimed numerous devotees and masters. Dictionaries and grammars, various branches of mathematics, medicine and chemistry, fine arts, Silpasastras and Kalas were all progressing and taught fully.

The General Character of Hindu Education.—Education was regarded as a preparation for this life as well as for the next. It wanted to harmonise these two aspects and necessities of man's life. But the dominance of the other worldly aspect led often to the neglect of duties and responsibilities of this worldly life ; and practical training for it was neglected. though the conception of four Asrama was evolved to balance these aspects of life.

The doctrine of caste, Karma, and Punarjanna greatly limited the free scope of education. It led to a sterility of thought in individuals placed in a static conception of society. They could not rise above a certain level. Brahmana became too other-worldly and these leaders of thought and society influenced by their example other classes. The people on the contrary became too utilitarian and did not care for a general or an all-round culture which would have sustained and strengthened the various aspects of a man's personality. There was always a look to the past. Hence there was no advance in knowledge; and education became monotonous and stereotyped.

The relations however between the pupil and the teacher were high, real, and personal. They moulded the personality of the student very effectively under the teacher's personal example and influence. There was also an absence of governmental interference in the conduct, maintenance, policy and aims of educational institutions. Institutions were not attached to a king, but kings attached themselves to institutions, by making grants. Absence of the evils of city life, institutions

being far away from crowded habitations. helped to strengthen higher moral and spiritual ideal and a strict discipline and self-control which were a great help in the worldly life which the students led after their return home from the teacher's Asrama.

But taken as a whole this educational system developed various sides of culture and aspects of thought and kept India far in advance of other nations in higher branches of pure knowledge for a long time.

2. MUHAMMADAN EDUCATION.

A Maktab and a Madrasah.—Muhammadian educational system is largely religious, and also cultural. There are two institutions known as Maktab and Madrasahs. A Maktab was a primary school attached to a mosque. Here the Koran was taught by heart in order to help the pupil to perform his devotions and other religious precepts and duties. All Muslim boys were supposed to attend it. In addition to the Koran. reading, writing, and simple arithmetic was sometimes taught. They were also introduced to the legend of the prophet, various anecdotes of saints, and selections from poets. A Madrasah was a place for higher learning. Here grammar, rhetoric, logic, law, Islamic practices and observances, astronomy, natural philosophy and metaphysics were taught. Learning by rote was a great feature of their system of instruction.

Kings and nobles as patrons of learning.—Muslim kings were patrons of Muslim learning alone. They helped in building mosques or madrasahs, gave encouragements to Muhammadan scholars and divines by grants of money or land, and even granted them pensions and allowances. A number of Muslim kings in the north and south of India was famous for their zeal in the cause of Muslim learning and education. A number of towns became famous centres of learning and literature, such as Delhi, Agra, Badaun, Jaunpur, Multan and others. Nobles also encouraged and patronised learning. To them were attached learned men who taught their children along with others in their own houses.

Subjects taught.—Thus under the patronage of kings and nobles, and the inspiration of the religion the torch of Muslim learning was kept up, and gave impetus to the development of history, poetry, philosophy, and theology. Akbar encouraged painting, music, calligraphy and other arts and sciences. He took keen interest in the instruction of the people. Every school-boy was first to learn five things, namely, a knowledge

of the letters, meanings of words, the hemistich, the verse, and the former lesson. Later he was to read books on morals, arithmetic, agriculture, geometry, astronomy, etc. Care was to be taken that he understood everything himself. Akbar did not check Hindu learning. He founded colleges and libraries and advanced education a good deal.

Its defects.—But the Muslim system and subjects of education lacked many things. There was no liberal outlook towards knowledge. Their religious nature and narrow scope did not leave much chance for knowledge of the world history and geography, of other languages and other people's life and achievement in religion, politics or philosophy. There was a kind of stubborn blindness and faith which killed the springs and motive force for further advance. The place of reason was not realised in mental equipment, and therefore a search for high ideals and habits suited to the growth and greatness of man never developed.

Its value during the middle ages.—There were no doubt famous men of free inquiry and learning like Alberuni and Abul Fazl whose vast knowledge and liberal outlook, would do credit to any nation or people. But such men developed more outside the narrow groove of the usual system. They were fed on Sufi ideals. Early Arabs also showed a great desire for learning and developed a knowledge of geography, history, philosophy and literature of other nations. They carried this knowledge to Europe through Spain during the middle ages of Europe.

3. ELEMENTARY SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN PRE-BRITISH DAYS.

Elementary system of education in pre-British days.—In the pre-British days people had opportunities to acquire the elements of literacy in the Pathshalas and Makhtabs of towns and villages, where a knowledge of the four R's of education was regularly given. The four R's were reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. Every such school consisted of a teacher and ten or twenty pupils. They met early in the morning under the shadow of a tree, in the shade of a verandah or in the precincts of a temple. There were no regular fees, but presents worth rupees four or five per month were made to the teacher. He had often a share in the economy of the village. The school was open to children of all castes and even untouchables. They started their studies at about the age of five and generally continued till the 16th year. The aim of education was merely

to help in the ordinary business of life. Knowledge of accounts was greatly emphasised. There were practically no text-books. Reading of Kathas from books like Ramayana and others and recitation of religious songs and moral poems gave the students both religious and moral ideas. Each pupil was instructed individually. In case of large classes there was the ancient Hindu practice of monitors to help junior classes.

The features of this system were common all over India. This education was wide-spread over the country being a necessity. Besides these schools, there was teaching carried on in the houses of rich men where a few outside children were also admitted for study. It is estimated that about 20 per cent of the students of the school-going age attended these schools.

✓ 4. EDUCATION OF TO-DAY.

New forces and new agencies in education.—The establishment of British Rule in India brought new forces into the field and conception of education. New agencies, new principles and methods, and new aims came to mould the old educational system. The needs of British administration, the aims and efforts of Christian missionaries, the Indian response to new cultural and scientific forces, and the resistance and existence of the old and the revived factors and systems awakened the people to a new angle of vision in educational matters.

British rulers, their needs and attempts.—The British rulers wanted to win the support of the intellectual classes and to yoke them to service. They distributed patronage amongst them and tried to attract them towards their rule by reviving their learning. Pandits and Maulvis were necessary in law courts to declare, to interpret and to apply the personal laws of the people in disputed cases. Administrative work could not be cheapened unless these classes were employed in lower service and taught to do that work. It was political expediency which made the government undertake education. The spread of English language in the interests of administration and science, medicine, etc., in the same interests were also necessary. A madrasah for Muhammadans, was started in 1782 in Calcutta by Warren Hastings. In 1791 a Hindu college was established in Benares. The Charter Act of 1813 compelled the Company to spend one lakh of rupees in encouraging indigenous learning and western science. But these were stray attempts when the objects of education were not settled. European

oriental scholars also gave impetus to Indian learning and cultural revival.

Their aims.—The question and controversy at issue was the choice between Oriental learning and Western learning. There were able advocates on both sides. There were misrepresentations on both sides. The famous minute of Macaulay which was infamous in some of its contents decided the controversy in favour of the Occidentalists, and oriental culture received a set back. At this stage Government only cared for education in order to create English-knowing clerks and officials who would be of great service in consolidating and smoothening their administration. The court language was settled to be English. English officers wanted help in order to know the wishes, wants, and wisdom of the people, or what the people felt and did. There was no idea of any spread of literacy or knowledge amongst the people. Their motive was political.

The aim of Christian missionaries.—Christian missionaries who cared for conversion and for the education of the converted were inspired by religious motives. They were the earliest pioneers of western education which unsettled the mind of the youngmen of the higher classes, destroyed their respect for the old order and created a longing for the new order, life and religion ushered in by the West. They directly attacked the indigenous religious and social customs and organisations and called them frauds or tyrannies or superstitions. They gave secular education and spread discontent against the old administration for the new. They tried to connect the new and useful western scientific and political knowledge incompatibly and falsely with the tenets of Christianity. The political power being Christian gave great facilities for their missionary movements, and welcomed them as their spread strengthened the roots of its rule in India. The missionaries were devoted, industrious and foresighted in their works. They started schools, colleges, hospitals, orphanages, medical dispensaries and missionary establishments amongst even the lowliest of the low classes in various parts of the country. They were helped financially by European and American states. They tried experiments in teaching in vernaculars, in printing their sacred books in the languages of the people and were the first to start vernacular press and printing. in educating the lower classes by opening their institutions to all castes freely, and thus awakening them to new visions or virtues and values in life and changing their old fatalistic mentality. The easy conversions they made by their new ideas of life, religion, and society, by their own vir-

tuous examples, and by the career which they promised and gave to their converts contributed largely to the vast change brought about in the mentality and education of the people. The Serampur missionaries, Carey, Duff and others are famous names in the early period of British history in Bengal. They established schools and carried on their usual missionary propaganda. In 1830 Dr. Duff helped by Raja Rama Mohan Roy opened a school to give "literary, scientific and religious education through English." The missionaries sided with the Occidental position and advocated the introduction of Western learning and culture. In Bombay Presidency Elphinstone advocated in 1824 in his minute on education the spreading of the knowledge of Western Science, but he did not believe in neglecting Indian literature. In 1821 the Deccan College was created out of Peshwa grants for education.

Indian pioneers in Bengal.—Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first pioneer of Western Learning in India from a real desire of knowledge. He was a great student of languages and a scholar. He took part in the current controversies and attacks on Hindu social and religious customs and manners. He believed in purifying the current Hindu social, religious and educational systems, and purging it out of its various evils. He fully responded to the demands of the time and intellectually grasped the advantages of some humanitarian European ideas and beliefs. He was for teaching English and inspired the opening of the Hindu College in 1817 in Calcutta to instruct the sons of Hindus in European and Asiatic languages and sciences. It turned out men who later became the promoters of reform movement in Bengal. In 1854 it was merged in the Presidency College of Calcutta.

In Bombay.—In Bombay in 1822 under the inspiration of leaders like Nana Shanker Shet "the Native School Books and School Committee" was formed by the Bombay Education Society. Its objects was to prepare suitable text-books of instruction for the use of schools and to establish and improve native schools, supported by voluntary subscriptions. In 1824 Elphinstone's Government granted it some annual allowance. In 1827 two Elphinstone Professorships were established in memory of Elphinstone who was the Governor of Bombay (1823-1828) with the help of public subscriptions known as the Elphinstone fund for teaching the English language and the arts, the sciences and the literatures of Europe. Government also made an annual grant of Rs. 44,000 in its aid. In 1832 this developed into the Elphinstone College of Bombay.

In Madras.—In Madras Pachaiyappa's Charities created in the 18th century came to be devoted to educational establishments in the various parts of the Presidency, and a school was established in 1842 in the city of Madras to give instruction in the elementary branches of English literature and science. Munro's Government (1820-27) encouraged it.

These early efforts inspired and initiated by the people did not neglect the study of vernaculars. Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Telegu had a place in the curriculum. The pioneers saw the need of the old as well as the utility of the new learning. They were on the right track in developing and moulding the systems and aims of Indian education. But later on the excessive Anglicising and officialising of education upset the balance. In the new official scheme people's education as a whole and consequently the vernacular education received little impetus.

The Official controversy between the Orientalists and Occidentalists continued for twelve years from 1823 to 1835 and ended in favour of the latter by the decision of the Government of India under Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835).

✓*The effect of the new learning.*—The effect of the new training was that people came to admire new ideas and institutions and got discontented with the old. It turned away their minds from political freedom and made them social and religious rebels, trying to imitate English models and methods. It had however one good effect in rationalising their minds under a conflict of ideas and customs. The old credulous mentality where no light of reason, utility or progress could reach was shaken and the minds of a few great men became free to review the past, to value the present, and to vision the future. India did want badly a renaissance, a reformation and a reorganisation. Sobs of the old order would have led to stagnation or decay. Songs of the new would alone rejuvenate life and promise restoration of glory and freedom on a new basis.

Two schools amongst officials.—There were two schools of thought amongst the officials. Those who believed in the goodness of their rule advocated new education and its expansion. Those who were conscious of its injustice and its political demerits advocated either ignorance or the maintenance of the old system which kept the mind of the people in its old grooves.

The Anglicising policy.—After 1835 the Anglicising of education received great impetus in view of the needs of administration. English was made the official language, and English-

knowing candidates were selected for government service according to a Resolution of 1844 of Lord Hardinge. There was no real encouragement to higher education or vernacular development. The filtration theory came to be adopted. It advocated the teaching of a few through English and leaving them to spread or filtrate the ideas through the vernacular, amongst the people.

It was only after the effects of the new education in Bengal were seen where the people had become more pro-English and anti-Indian in their manners and ideas and were anxious to get government posts that advocates of the new system. like Mr. Trevelyan, spoke that the spirit of English literature would be favourable to the English connection, because being "educated in the same way, interested in the same object, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindus." (1853).

Thus when it was seen that oriental education and cultivation of Indian vernaculars were likely to lead to a conservative but rebellious mentality, Bentinck and others supported promotion of European literature and science through the medium of English language, and ordered the use of all funds only for it. Macaulay wrote "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, opinions, words and intellect." It was expected as a result of this that ideas of loyalty to British rule and of constitutional government would rise amongst the educated classes and under their influence amongst the masses.

The Officialising Policy. Despatch of 1854.—Upto 1854 there was no development of any sound system or principles of education both in higher and lower branches. Discussion was going on officially. Leading men from amongst the people however were alone taking initiative and creating a suitable system and a body of principles to guide its course. It was Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1854 which laid down certain aims, which related to "conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge." But in all these objects or aims of education and in the controversies and methods of education of the early period the training of India to self-government was not recognised as one of the aims of education. Munro and Macaulay did express some pious hopes as to that demand for self-government may be the indirect result of British

rule and education. But there was no such conscious desire or objective in any one of their schemes or suggestions.

There was no ethical aim to make the people politically, economically, socially or morally advanced. It was purely a secular education creating prospects of government service and developing some western professions for the purposes of judicial administration and medical help. Science and technical knowledge came to be neglected.

The system developed after 1854 has been one of schools, colleges and examinations, controlled by government. It inspects and exacts submission to the rules of its educational code which relate to grants-in-aid and recognition, curriculum and text-books, details of equipment, appointments and organisation.

Universities have been constituted and controlled by government which directs largely their policy and development. The constituent colleges are either fully managed by government, or partly recognised and helped under certain restrictions. Schools are also in the same position.

The effects of the policy.—Thus the Anglicising and officialising of education have been the chief characteristics of the whole history of educational development in India. It has proved a great danger and an obstacle to private efforts and independence in matters of education. There has been too much of centralisation and control, and has led to a peculiar type of official atmosphere in schools, colleges and universities where the teacher and the taught have not developed personal contact and confidence leading to the development of free and full expression of creative minds. The neglect of religion led to the loss of a binding, moulding and moralising force. The use of English as the sole medium of education has not only checked originality but prevented the expansion of education amongst the masses and the cultivation of their mother tongues and literatures and has given no scope to the natural development and expansion of their thought and feeling. The idea of permeation of knowledge amongst the masses from above was too narrow. It neglected the essential aim of education, the drawing out of the man's personality directly from within. There was little mental contact between the newly educated classes and the masses. The education itself was too literary, too impractical, and based on too much memorising. No subject was specially studied, and even the subjects studied did not relate to nor were likely to satisfy the

various needs of life. Education in short looked to the needs of a foreign government and not to the permanent requirements of a growing people.

Man's creative part was not touched. An imitative personality came to be born, which in its dependent and submissive outlook cannot be a factor in nation-building. The ideas of freedom and democracy have reached the people indirectly, being in the world atmosphere and brought in by the free press and personalities of various countries and were assimilated by the great indigenous personalities who started and maintained the struggle of freedom even under oppression, mild or severe. But the present system of education does not create nor gives scope to the qualities of courage, free thinking, initiative and independence. Now there are other forces in the country, such as various national movements and institutions which have kept up and encouraged these qualities and virtues.

Mass education neglected.—There has been no system of compulsory and free primary education for the masses, nor the opportunities for female education have been in any great measure created. The education of the depressed classes has not been cared for.

Wood's Despatch of 1854 accepted the duty of the education of all the people of the country. It proposed the constitution of a separate department for the administration of education, the institution of universities in Presidency towns, the establishment of institutions for training all classes of people, the maintenance of the existing government colleges and high schools and further increase of their number, the establishment of new middle schools, an increased attention to vernacular schools for spreading elementary education and the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid.

Its progress. The vernacular was to be the medium of instruction in lower classes and the English in the higher. The claims of female education were recognised. Government was to support it, Departments of Public Instruction were created with a staff of officials to encourage primary and secondary education. The Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were established in 1857, of the Punjab in 1882, of Allahabad in 1887. By 1882 there were more than two millions and a quarter students under instruction.

However narrow may have been the aim and scope of education as officially organised, people took full advantage of the opportunities afforded. In 1882 the Education Commission

which was presided over by Sir William Hunter emphasised government's undertaking primary education, and encouraging private effort in higher education by following the grants-in-aid system. In 1901 Lord Curzon appointed a University Commission, and on its recommendations a University Act was passed in 1901. It tightened the control of the government on the universities, and of the universities over the schools and colleges. They were officialised and became practically government departments. The universities were given the power of undertaking direct teaching functions, of making appointments of professors and lecturers under government sanction, and equipping laboratories and museums. Territorial limits of the universities were fixed. Conditions for the affiliation of colleges were laid down. A system of inspection of colleges by the university was established. The number of senators and syndics was fixed and a majority of nominated members was created. The term of the senator was to be five years instead for life. The universities were to be affiliating universities and any number of colleges in the area fixed could be affiliated to them.

In 1911 to meet the growing needs of education a new member for education in the Governor-General's Council was appointed.

New Universities.—There was a growth of demand for new Universities from various provinces and the Hindu and Muslim communities. Hence arose the new universities, in virtue of Government Acts, of Patna, Lucknow, Rangoon, Dacca, Delhi, Nagpur, Agra, Benares and Aligarh, as also of Mysore and Hyderabad. To-day on account of the demand for lingual provinces the Universities of Andhra and Annamalai have already arisen. There is a demand for it in Gujerat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Sind, Rajputana, Orissa and in other centres.

The new type of university, namely, the teaching and residential, different from the old affiliating and examining type, is more common. Dacca, Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares and Aligarh are the examples of the new type. The old type continues in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Nagpur, Agra, Lahore, and other places. The old are more officialised and the new are more democratised and independent. There are eight affiliating and nine unitary universities.

Calcutta University Commission.—In 1917 the Calcutta University Commission was appointed. Its report was issued in 1919. Sir Michael Sadler was its president. It recommended a complete reorganisation of higher education in Bengal.

A High School and Intermediate College Board separate from the University as such was recommended to be appointed under whose charge the Secondary and Intermediate Education was to be placed. Some modification of the constitution of the old universities has been going on in accordance with the Sadler Committee's recommendations. New universities have been modelled on the Dacca type, which is of a unitary and residential character.

Ministers and Education.—Ministers began to administer the Departments of Education under the Reforms of 1919. They are responsible to the legislature. But lack of funds and want of full Council support for additional taxation have not helped the advance of their schemes and measures in the cause of either lower or higher technical or professional and literary education.

In each province there is a Director of Public Instruction. He is the administrative head of the Education Department. He controls the inspection and teaching staff of the government institutions, and is responsible to the minister of education. Universities, Boards of High School and Intermediate Education, and local bodies partly share in the control of public instruction at various stages.

Organisation of educational institutions.—Indian educational institutions are both public and private. Public institutions are (1) Primary schools, (2) Secondary and High schools, and (3) Universities and Colleges. They are all recognised by government. There are also other public institutions such as technical schools and colleges, engineering and technological schools and colleges, law colleges, medical schools and colleges, training colleges and military colleges. The number of institutions and the number of pupils in them in 1931 are shown in the census report as follows :—

			<i>Institutions.</i>	<i>Pupils.</i>
Universities	..	..	16	8,139
Arts Colleges	..	..	244	66,837
Professional Colleges	..	..	73	17,002
Secondary Schools	..	..	13,581	2,286,411
Primary schools	..	..	204,384	9,362,748
Special Schools	..	..	8,891	315,650
Unrecognised institutions	..	..	34,879	632,249

The scheme of general education in India is roughly as follows :—

1. Age 6-10 is the primary stage, taught in the vernacular.

2. Age 10-14 is the middle stage, called Anglo-Vernacular where English is also taught.
3. Age 14-16 is the higher stage in which English is also used as the medium of instruction
4. Age 16-20 or more is the University stage in which English is mainly used as the medium of instruction. The first two years form the Intermediate and the next two years the B. A. or B. Sc., degree stage. After that two years make the post-graduate stage of M. A. or M. Sc. degrees.

There are also professional university courses in medicine, law, engineering, agriculture and education and a small number of technical institutions of various grades and kinds. There are training schools for elementary teachers.

Statistics of education.—A statistical statement of educational progress in India shows that the percentage of total scholars to population has advanced from 4.92 in 1928-29 to 4.97 during 1934-35, the percentage of male scholars decreasing from 7.89 in 1928-29 to 7.58 during 1934-35 and that of female scholars steadily increasing from 1.78 in 1928-29 to 2.20 in 1934-35. Total scholars, both male and female in all institutions numbered 13,506,869 in 1934-35 as compared with 12,165,839 in 1928-29. The total expenditure on these scholars during 1934-35 was Rs. 27,52,11,000 of which the share of public funds was Rs. 15,74,65,000 as compared with Rs. 27,07,32,000 in 1928-29.

Backwardness of literacy in India has been due to want of will in the government to promote it as in Germany, Japan and Russia. Level of literacy in Russia has arisen from 13 per cent to 96 per cent during the last fifteen years. Its government helped and supported the movement in every way. Education was made free and compulsory. Every citizen has the right to education, and the work of educating the citizen is the duty of the state. Education in India should be compulsory between the ages of 5 to 12 or 14 or 16.

A civilised and progressive community requires a system of universal education calculated to impart sound knowledge, to foster a spirit of research, to develop the power of concentration, exactness and accuracy, and to produce a constructive, affectionate, courageous and frank character. It is therefore the inalienable right of every child to receive an adequate and congenial education as would enable it in fullness of time to give a complete and creative expression to its latent potentialities in the service of humanity.

State of primary education.—In some provinces Primary Education Acts authorising the introduction of compulsory primary education by local bodies have been passed. They are permissive measures. Consequently progress made has been very little. In 1932 compulsory primary education was introduced in 153 urban and 3,392 rural areas.

Out of five lacs of villages in British India three lacs have no primary schools.

We therefore suggest that :—

1. There should be compulsory primary education of children of both sexes at least till the age of 12 years.
2. Primary education in the villages should be adjusted to the physical and psychological needs of the child and the environment.
3. Co-education should be carefully arranged and adjusted.
4. Lasting literacy and prevention of relapse into illiteracy should be maintained by the provision of central and circulating libraries and supply of cheap newspapers.
5. Their physique should be cared for and developed.
6. The skill of hand and eye of the pupils should be preserved and developed through school gardening, arts, crafts, and cottage industries.
7. There should be inculcation in the pupil of a sense of values in right living.
8. There should be training of co-operation in primary schools. The primary course should extend over seven years.

Its defects.—57.5 per cent of all the schools in British India are schools which have only one teacher each, and the majority of these single teacher schools are incomplete schools, that is, schools which break up before the class where literacy is attained. These inefficient small schools are useless schools from the point of view of literacy.

There is bad teaching in the infant classes, irregular attendance due to various causes including sickness, poverty and parent's lack of interest, and ineffective organisation due to faulty administration by local bodies which as a rule control primary education. It is stated that no less than 74 p. c. of all the boys attending primary schools never attain literacy. Thus expenditure becomes a heavy waste under such conditions and

results. A thorough revaluation and reorganisation of the present educational system is necessary.

Aims of secondary education.—Secondary schools should prepare pupils not only for professional and university courses, but also enable them at the completion of the appropriate stages to be diverted to occupation or to separate vocational institutions. It is also now recognised the inadvisability of too frequent examinations and recommended that the first public examination should be at the end of the lower secondary course. Bias in education whether rural, commercial or technical is desirable. It can be given along with general cultural education. The training in vocational subjects must be thorough. A boy must be able to pass from the school into a factory, workshop or business house without serving a further period of apprenticeship. There should be a planned course of technical training to meet actual requirements. There should be a continuation course to pupils who do not pass on to secondary schools or to occupation. There should be multiple bias schools instead of single bias ones. Thus secondary education will be improved if it is combined with such training. There should be training in arts and crafts and the training imparted should not be half-hearted, but very thorough.

The vocational training of the adolescent does not mean a restricted specialised training in art, craft or trade. The first business of training is to make a man capable of earning his livelihood. When this is secured, the next thing is to see that he learns how to live together and how to live fully. His training must make him adaptable to the modern social and economic environment. This is where cultural education is of value. A specialised vocational course may give a boy or girl a temporary advantage over those who have taken a less special course. But such a lead will hold only so long as there is a brisk demand for that particular kind of mechanic or commercial assistant. The modern economic and social environment is however one that changes rapidly. Readjustments are continually necessary for survival in it. Any big change in a particular line of work or in the general economic milieu will hit hard the man with a narrow special training. The man of a general practical education will have sufficiently wide range of variations in his behaviour to enable him to build up a new pattern of mechanical work.

While primary education lays the basis of future training, it is the secondary school where boys and girls can get the train-

ing of mind and body which makes for adaptability, initiative and wide outlook. We cannot therefore neglect the cultural aspects in this stage in education. But we want vocational basis 80 p. c. and cultural bias 20 p. c. not vice versa.

Growth of female education.—From the time of Lord Ripon female education began to receive special attention. The Education Commission of 1882 recommended that “female education should receive special encouragement and be treated with liberality.” Before that date there were private efforts of individuals like Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar, of Christian missionary bodies, and of reforming groups like Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj. After 1882 private associations and individuals have continued to help the education of women forward, and they have spread a network of schools and some colleges throughout the country. Indian women also in their All-India Women’s Conference (started in 1926) have been devoting special attention to their educational needs and reform and have pressed for providing all aspects of education.

Its importance.—The education of the girl is the education of the mother and the family. We can not have “an educated manhood and an ignorant womanhood.” Otherwise it would affect not only home life but personal and national character, as women possesses dominating influences in the household and in the training of children. In their own interests also they should be literate and educated and thus “contribute to the culture, the ideals, the activities” and the service of the country. If however a rapid advance is to be made in girl’s education, it is necessary to provide large numbers of well-educated women who will take lead in the matter and will come forward as qualified and devoted teachers, doctors and supervisors.

Need of more vocational education.—There are only a few art and craft, technical, industrial and commercial schools in the country and the amount spent on it is not large. The number of pupils and institutions are insignificant in comparison with those of ordinary schools. This disproportion has to be removed if the vocational needs of the pupils are to be satisfied. There should be a provision of a large number of vocational institutions, technical and industrial in which the pupils could devote their whole time and energy to practical pursuits, freed from the temptation of hankering after a literary career. But the students who join these several types of institutions must possess an amount of general knowledge which should form the basis of their vocational training. In the existing system of

education large numbers of unfit school pupils and college students continue unduly their literary studies which do not prove useful to them and to their schools and colleges. When they came out they swell the ranks of middle class unemployment.

Need of adult education.—Adult education concerns itself with educating further the ill or half educated, widening their intellectual horizon and enlarging the range of their curiosity and inculcating in them culture and refinement. It is the bright but poor man whom adult education most benefits. Modern age requires the adult, who is a responsible citizen, to be educated. It helps those who have had no opportunities to study further in early life. University education reaches only the favoured few. The system of adult education cannot reach university standards. But still it is very valuable from the point of view of the general public. The work of adult education is an integral part of the normal activities of university and educational bodies, and has a legitimate claim on their interest and educational and financial support.

Medium of instruction.—The present position being that a foreign language is the medium of instruction and examination, Indian universities have not yet succeeded in being regraded as national institutions. They are still exotic. The man in the street and country has no sort of any feeling about them. They have not been able to arouse any popular enthusiasm. The businessmen, the capitalists, the landed magnates have no attachment towards them. In any scheme of adult education, vernacular of the place must be used as the medium of instruction. The difficulties in the way are the absence of scientific terminology, the battle of scripts, the tug between Samskrit, Arabic and Persian, the hybrid monster known as Hindustani, the inter-provincial complications etc. But every one of these can be successfully got over if there is a will to overcome them. Only when we use the mother tongue can we express ourselves with skill and eloquence and reach the hearts of those whom we address and develop our creative powers. Some universities do the work of adult education by an extension lectures system in subjects of history and literature, economics and politics, sociology and philosophy and elementary sciences. The course can be one year's or shorter during long vacation. The knowledge which is given to the common man is elementary or higher. It is meant to promote the sane and the profitable employment of the leisure hours of workers by means of institutions designed to further the development of their physical, intellectual and moral capacities.

It can be carried on in villages by giving instruction in the use of agricultural machinery and tools and smaller craft implements. It can establish (1) Adult education, (2) Civic education, (3) Mother's education and (4) Wage earner's education.

Criticism of university education.—Universities should provide self-sufficient stages of instruction, and also diversion of courses into suitable channels to relieve unemployment. Criticism against our universities is (1) that there are too many and unfit students and there is overcrowding which makes it impossible to do advanced work and therefore a restriction of numbers is necessary, and that secondary education should be planned so as to provide for diversified courses of instruction; (2) that the university student is lacking in culture, in self-expression and in general knowledge, and (3) that it is not higher education which Indian needs to-day but more technical education.

New needs.—Indian society is changing fast and our political needs are changing even faster, and therefore education must be planned to meet the needs of our economic, social and political situation. The industrial life of the country and the growth of interest in the rural part of the community make to-day novel demands on our educationists. The vast majority of those who are educated desire to be trained for a definite vocation in life.

What should universities do?—An Indian University must regard itself as one of the living organs of national reconstruction. It must discover the best means of blending together both the spiritual and material aspects of life. It must equip its alumni irrespective of castes, creeds or sects, with individual fitness, not for its own sake, not merely for adorning varied occupations and professions, but in order to teach them how to merge their individuality in the common cause of advancing the progress and prosperity of their motherland and upholding the highest tradition of human civilisation. It must teach them how to live together and well. Military training should be compulsory in colleges, in order to instil into the minds of students a sense of discipline and responsibility, alertness and organisation, so essential for building up their character, and for defending their hearths and homes.

Value of liberal education.—We cannot however neglect liberal or cultural education though our economic needs are great. Liberal education develops mind, trains its creative faculty, called intelligence, and gives it a power of self-direction

in the affairs of life. Trained intelligence possesses the capacity of being applied in any field, and the ability of doing what one has never done before. It gives the student the power of taking into his hand the direction of his own affairs. It also gives a sense of discriminating just human values and a capacity for judging situations as furnishing possibilities for the realising those just values.

Admission to universities.—All students should however not as a matter of course proceed from the high school to the university considering their individual aptitudes and capacity and the careers to which they are destined. It does seem a waste of energy, time and money to compel boys who have not aptitude for academical studies, and for whose entry on their future careers a university degree is not a prerequisite, to go through the university mill.

The standards of entrance to universities should therefore be such as to insure that the candidate is intellectually qualified to profit by the education that he will receive there. Further the tendency to lower the standards of university discipline and examinations or to soften and revise their results should be fully checked. Otherwise the decay of advanced learning which is noticeable will not be prevented.

Problems which face the universities.—The problems which face the universities in India are no doubt the cultural or utilitarian character of curriculum, the controversy between liberal and vocational education, the swollen number and unfitness of students, the types of organisation—unitary, teaching and residential, or affiliating, supervising and examining, official control and supervision or complete autonomy, the provision of tutorial and research system or the provision of mere teaching and mass lecturing, and the question of adequate finance and high scholarship, or cheap education and bad equipment. But the greatest problem which faces our universities is whether they will maintain the conditions and promote the interests of advanced learning in India and check its noticeable decay and lowering of standards in the growing competition for attracting large numbers of pupils, multiplying departments of study and in not being able to meet the requirements of equipment, the needs of discipline, and the wants of an able, independent, inspiring and satisfied professional staff.

✓ 5. NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The problem of national education came into existence to meet the educational needs of the people left unsatisfied by the

state system of education and to remove the glaring evils of that system. The schemes and principles proposed and followed in the systems of national education have differed according to the ideals and mentality of the founders of these systems.

Various ideas and advocates.—Some looked to the revival of the ancient Gurukul or Asrama systems, such as Swami Sradhananda's Gurukul at Hardwar. Some only wanted to cheapen education and to keep the whole management under their control, though not repudiating government recognition, grant, or restrictions but following government curriculum, such as the Deccan Education Society of Poona. Others wanted a complete independence of government connection and control in all matters, and desired to create a new system of education based on the high ideals and methods of the past as well as the present in order to suit Indian needs in modern times, such as the National Education Movement of Bengal and Maharashtra, and of later non-co-operation days which led to the foundation of Vidyapithas or Universities on lingual basis in Guzerat, Maharashtra, U. P., Behar, Bengal, and colleges and schools at various places throughout India. Dr. Annie Besant's Central Hindu College and national movement were also of a similar nature.

Besides these there are schools and colleges which have come into existence in connection with socio-religious movements of Brahmosamaj, Aryasamaj, and Theosophical Society. They developed their own ideas in their institutions but kept full connection with the governmental system by affiliating them for the purposes of examination and curriculum and even grants.

Lastly come those institutions founded by communal leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, such as Aligarh College (now Muslim University), and Benares Hindu University, to meet communal and cultural wants of Muslims and Hindus. Similar is the Khalsa College of Sikhs. All of them have kept up their connection with the government and are constituted by virtue of its Acts. There is a partial control or interference by the government in their work. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Vishwabharati is cosmopolitan rather than national and is completely independent of government control. Its ideals are humanitarian.

Its chief characteristics.—All these institutions and others less well-known call themselves national. The chief contributions made by some of them to the advance of Indian education are as follows :—

- (1) Freedom from government control which allows only the development of a particular political mentality, and hence leads to the deterioration of the the moral individuality of a person.
- (2) Acknowledgement of the necessity of religious spirit and moral teaching in schools and colleges.
- (3) The maintenance of patriotic conceptions and ideals of life, leading to the virtues of service and sacrifice.
- (4) Emphasis on the best Indian culture and the acceptance of the highest modern political and social ideals.
- (5) Development of physique and discipline of mind and sense, and adoption of compulsory physical exercise.
- (6) Use of the mother-tongue as medium of instruction, and its cultivation for higher cultural and scientific purposes.
- (7) Recognition of the necessity of vocational and technical education in order to pursue well the various arts and industries for the economic welfare of the people.
- (8) Emphasis on strict continence, simple dress and food, hygiene and cleanliness, and control on thought, word and deed.

The presence and practice of these ideas in some of these institutions have helped the cultivation and growth of Indian literatures and languages, produced some persons of strong, independent, sacrificing and creative mentality, created confidence in their own culture and abilities, and helped the movement of political, social and economic regeneration of the country. It is also indirectly affecting and influencing the state system, in its anglicised, officialised, and narrow outlook. National education movement has therefore a great value in developing and experimenting on new and necessary ideas in education. Without its existence and impetus Indian education would have suffered heavily.

Government of India and education.—In 1921 the Government of India constituted a Central Advisory Board. Its educational commissioner became its chairman. The Board included a number of eminent educationists, official and non-official, from the provinces. There was also the Central Bureau of Education started in 1915. It continued its activities of giving advice to provinces. It studied the fresh advances in education in various countries—the new and more efficient methods of teaching, the new perspective of education and adjustment of

curriculum. In 1932 the Government decided to revive the Central Advisory Board of Education, and the Bureau of Education in order to formulate a comprehensive policy of development.

Inter-University Board.—In 1924 the Government of India summoned a Universities Conference at Simla. Representatives from all Indian universities were invited. It created an Inter-University Board for India to co-ordinate the work and views of universities, to discuss university problems and to suggest ways of reform and progress in higher education, uniformity of practice, and co-ordination of work. It meets annually to pass resolutions relating to university education. It collects information and stimulates thought. In 1929 and 1934 similar conferences of Indian Universities were held, and a number of resolutions were passed. The Government of India issued a circular on educational reconstruction in accordance with one of those resolutions which aimed at the diversion of pupils at an early stage to vocational schools as a remedy for unemployment.

Abbot-Wood Report.—In August 1936 the government of India invited two experts in education from England, in order to advise on certain problems of educational reorganisation and particularly on problems on vocational education. They submitted their recommendations in June 1937, which are very important. They have suggested an improvement in the content and method of education.

As regards general education and administration they suggest an emphasis to be placed not on book-learning or literacy but on natural interests, activities and environment of children, on vernacular languages being the media of instruction throughout the High Schools. English being made a compulsory language, on manual work (i.e., creative manual activities of diverse kinds) being made a part of the curriculum of every school, on teaching of art, on physical education and recreative playgrounds, on training of teachers and on greater austerity of administration in the educational service and more consistent disciplinary action in the case of maladministration.

As regards vocational education, they suggest that expansion of specialised vocational education should not greatly outstrip the development of industry, but vocational education which aims at cultivating flexibility of mind and moral and intellectual qualities would be helpful, that vocational education is not on a lower plane than literacy education, since the full purpose of education is to develop the whole powers of the

mind, body and spirit so that they may be devoted to the welfare of the society, that general and vocational education are not essentially different branches, but the earlier and later phases of a continuous process, that general and vocational education should not however be provided in the same school, since the pupils in the two types have very diverse aims, and that a definite system of vocational schools should be established with the proper aims in view.

Congress governments.—The new Congress governments in provinces are seriously thinking of reconstructing the whole system of education and making primary education compulsory, free and even self-supporting. Their plans and proposals are not as yet published. The Wardha scheme based on Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of a self-supporting system of school education is now before the public since December 1937.

CHAPTER IX.

Our Hygienic Life.

"May we live a hundred years." Veda.

"As is body so is knowledge." Kautilya.

"Healthy mind in a healthy body." Romans.

Its importance.—The hygienic and sanitary conditions of a population of 350 crores are very important in the study of Indian Civics. Therefore an account of the needs and activities relating to public health is necessary in understanding the state of healthy life and well-being in our country. Healthy and well-nourished body creates and maintains the healthy mind and the healthy spirit of a people. The claims of the body are great. It develops and functions properly if its cleanliness and vitality, its laws of health, such as bodily exercise and labour, nutrition and recreation, continence and moderation, and its sanitary environment are properly maintained. Unless a people possess robust health and physical fitness it will not be easy for them to take any active part in any of the civic and national activities of the country as well as to lead themselves a happy and healthy life.

Lost stamina and lost health make for poverty. Political power, economic progress, educational advancement, scientific research, industrial expansion, in fact, even good habits and noble aspirations, cannot be got by mere chance. Hygiene plays an essential part in the rearing and maintaining of a healthy nation. The gospel of health has to be preached continuously every day.

There is such a thing as physical morality or healthy living. It is not only a duty to one's own self, but also to his neighbours, the community, the country, and to other nations and future generations. A healthy body is necessary, if the mind is to be healthy. Unless the mind is healthy, good habits and good character cannot be formed. Then only a sane outlook on life can be created. Mental health is very necessary along with physical health. Mental hygiene will help the individual to self-discipline and create in him the desire to subordinate the self and merge it in the larger interests of the bigger self, that is, the community.

Physical condition of the people.—Indians suffer from physical deterioration, bad health, an early death, a high rate of morality and a prevalence of a number of deadly diseases. Their bodily vitality has become low owing to a number of causes, sanitary and economic. Want of a knowledge of and an absence of a desire for sound principles and practice of sanitation and hygiene have resulted in most deplorable results detrimental to the good health of the people. Even the elementary notions of sanitation and hygiene are many times seen to be absent. In order to preserve a good state of health and physique amongst the people their bodies, their houses and huts, their villages and cities, must be clean and healthy.

Character of the peoples' sanitary method of life.—Indian dwellings are generally not properly built, ventilated, cleaned or drained and hence the accumulation of filth, dirt and refuse at various places and corners generate diseases or rotten matter. The habits and customs of the people also do not tend towards cleanliness. Constant spitting at various places, throwing or accumulating refuse anywhere and everywhere, want of cleansing the house and its surroundings, allowing children to ease near or in the house outside the privies, want of good latrines and not cleaning them properly, the practice of men and women of casing or urinating somewhere near their habitation, neglect of every care and consideration which contributes to cleanliness, use of any dung in besmearing walls and floors, general absence of any use of disinfectants, the prevalence of chinks and holes everywhere in the dwelling, the neglect of or want of drains, the standing cesspools of dirty water, and the standing dung-heaps are one and all the enemies of a good healthy house and a sanitary surrounding.

City problems—In cities and large villages the problem gets complicated and worse because of crowded surroundings, crowded dwellings, insufficient accomodation, want of sufficient water, good air and light, unscavenged corners, crowded latrines and dust bins, clogged drains, huge accumulation of refuse, and continuous traffic or movement of persons, animals and carriages and unlicensed prostitution. Enormous dust created by traffic, dirt and refuse accumulated by human use and consumption of articles, bad streets, lanes, tanks or corners are all detrimental to human health and habitation.

Our bad condition.—Sir John Megaw, sometime Director General of Indian Medical Services in India, made the following observations:—

“ India has a poorly nourished population. The result is that the average span of life is less than half of what it might be. The periods of famine or scarcity of food occur very frequently. The population is increasing much more rapidly than the output of food and other commodities. Taking India as a whole 39 per cent of the people are being well-nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished and 20 per cent are very badly nourished.”

The chief facts relating to the public health of India for the year 1930 are officially stated as follows :—

- (1) The birth rate for the year was 35.99 per mille, as compared with 35.47 in 1929 and 35.19 for the previous quinquennium.
- (2) The death rate was 26.85 per mille for 1930 as compared with 25.95 for 1929, and 25.58 for the previous quinquennium.
- (3) The average infantile mortality rate *i.e.* the death rate of infants under one year of age per mille live-births was 180.83. The rate for 1929 was 178.39 and that for the previous quinquennium 176.34. In cities like Bombay and Calcutta it was 298 and 268 per mille respectively.
- (4) The expectation of life in India is only about 27, where as in other civilised countries it is much more; in Germany 56; in England 55; in France 52; in Japan 42; in Sweden 60.
- (5) The female mortality during maternity period at the re-productive age (15 to 40) is in India 24.05 per mille births and in England it is only 4.11.
- (6) The average number of sick persons per mille is 84 in India, 19 in New Zealand, 30 in England.

Insanity, deafness, dumbness, blindness and leprosy are largely prevalent in India. The total number affected by these infirmities is about 10 lacs. The evil of defective eyesight is evidently increasing among young adults, especially students in high schools and colleges. Cataract and glaucoma are causes of much blindness which only appear with increasing age.

Its causes.—The causes of low vitality and high mortality as stated by learned doctors are firstly poverty, underfeeding, deficient nutrition or malnutrition; secondly, insanitation, overcrowding, want of air and sunlight in many of our homes; thirdly, such social habits and customs as purdah, child marriage, inter-

marriage within the narrow circle of a caste ; and fourthly, rush and tear of life, worry and anxiety, mental stress and emotional strain. Hence we want a well-balanced diet and adequate nutrition for developing a sound and healthy constitution which resists the attack of diseases. The expectation of a long life must be our aim.

Defective sanitation and bad housing have greatly affected our health. Fresh air and sunlight are good food for health. But our overcrowded and ill-ventilated houses are deleterious to our health. Living there lowers the vital strength and weakens the resisting powers of the body so that it becomes an easy prey to diseases. There should be clean food, clean air and clean surroundings so that we may be kept free from disease. If we are clean, if our houses and surroundings are clean and free from dirt and dust, if our streets are sanitary and free from smells and pollution, no infectious disease can attack us. Insanitary surroundings create conditions of ill health and disease. Fresh air and sunlight give to life strength and vitality.

Some of our social habits and customs have been a drag on our nation's health and efficiency. Women in purdah do not enjoy the life-giving air and sunshine. Child marriage with poor food and nourishment and repeated pregnancies are the causes of infant mortality and physical deterioration. Inter marriages within the narrow limits of a social group are also responsible for the decay and degeneration of the race.

Modern life is full of noise, bustle and restless haste and has brought on nervous anxiety, physical and mental fatigue, overwork and has tended to sap human vigour and impair bodily activities. Ours is a noisy, restless age which allows no time for a still life and quiet thinking. There are no restful surroundings. The rush, bustle and excitement caused by enormous movements irritate the fine, sensitive brain and nervous system, interfere with the normal working of the digestive organs and keep the whole body in constant agitation. Therefore silence is necessary for harmony and peace of mind and body and for bringing health and preventing disease. There is health and strength in rest and silence. Thus the four factors, adequate nutrition, cleanliness within and without, avoidance of all customs and practices that drain the vital strength, and creating a spirit of calm and quiet restfulness, these are the foundations on which health, strength, long life and efficiency rest. They will make us fit physically, mentally and spiritually for the strenuous and active life which we have to lead.

Its remedies.—Thus our immediate needs are better food, a better standard of living and better homes for every family. 90 per cent of all our illnesses, other than acute infectious and contagious diseases, are traceable to bad diet and bad digestion. Therefore the modern public health administrator should not merely give orders for the execution of sanitary rules and regulations for cleaning house premises, alleys or byways or isolating persons suffering from dangerous communicable diseases by hospitalising them, but he must also utilise the services of experts in matters requiring advice in the nutrition of the people. Some of the suggestions made to cover the whole scope of public health are as follows.—(1) improved personal hygiene of all individuals, including better standards of personal cleanliness, better dietaries, reasonable working hours, recreation and adequate clothing, (2) improved standards of domestic and public sanitation, including relief from overcrowding, proper illumination, heating and ventilation, water supply, excreta disposal, (3) improved sanitation of places of employment, (4) the immunisation of susceptible persons and the control of infected persons, (5) the improvement of the breeding stock of the human race by the elimination of the physically and mentally unfit from reproduction, (6) the provision of facilities for aiding physicians in the diagnosis and care of their patients, that is, laboratories, hospitals and clinics.

Care of streets, removal of waste and dirt, provision of quarantine laws, food inspection laws, adulteration laws, distribution of medicine and medical knowledge, supply of pure water, pure air and sunshine, of good shelter and pure food, of recreation grounds and town planning, of health museums and health clinics are all great desiderata. Public health work is not merely the control of diseases from spreading and the defending of people against attacks of disease but it aims at creating a maximum well-being. Nutrition plays a very important part in increasing the stamina and vitality of the nation. With the help of the science of nutrition we must change the dietetic habits of the people. Poor nutrition lowers vitality and leads to disease and disease in turn leads to the poverty of the people. Therefore popular education in the elementary principles of nutrition is very necessary for the well-being of the people. In its economic aspect the foundation of a reasonable existence should be that amount of the wages which would enable the worker to obtain a minimum of healthy diet for himself and his family and a healthy shelter for them.

There is a great need of eugenic legislation in India which will

prevent the birth of diseased and unhealthy children. In Germany legislation for compulsory sterilisation of idiots, feeble-minded and insane has been passed, and for preventing marriages of venereally diseased, epileptic and leprous persons. There is also encouragement given to contraceptive methods to prevent births from diseased parents. On individuals in houses, and on village agencies and municipal authorities fall the heavy, but important duty and responsibility of caring for and preserving the cleanliness and sanitation of their localities. Constant education and compulsion of the public in these matters by providing facilities and passing penal laws are the duties of local authorities. Lectures on and demonstrations or exhibitions about them must be constantly held, and what western nations have done in these matters should be brought to the notice of the young and the old in the country. There is a great scope for voluntary agencies like social service leagues to help and to serve the people to receive improved ideas of sanitation. It is one of the duties of doctors to emphasize their importance during their professional rounds and visits to their patients' homes. But it is the awakening of the public opinion alone that will improve the present unsatisfactory conditions in India. Religion and custom are not very helpful in these matters. On the contrary they are obstacles to a great extent. Constant increase of population and poverty, and want of social sense and service make the improvement difficult.

There are at present some associations working for child welfare. Children's welfare leagues, maternity homes, and other similar associations are working towards this end. People must look after their economic and sanitary conditions to prevent this heavy death rate and wastage of human life. Medical inspections, recreation grounds, proper nursing and feeding, moderate exercise and fresh air, clean and less crowded homes are all necessary.

Condition of females.—Amongst females in cities there is a high death rate and in provinces it is higher amongst maless. Purdah system is a contributory cause of insanitary condition. in our household and leads to decay of vitality amongst females. Ill-lighted and ill-ventilated buildings are the evils attendant on the purdah system. All other evils mentioned above as regards dwellings have a great deleterious effect on female health and physique. Add to it early marriages, premature motherhood, bad nourishment, unsatisfactory maternity methods, and scanty knowledge of midwifery and we get a complete picture of causes contributing to a high female death rate.

The man in India drinks bad water, breathes bad air, eats insufficient and less nourishing food, lives in crowded rooms and houses, and is engulfed in dirty surroundings and the result is that he physically deteriorates and dies early. There ought however to be greater attention paid by the Public Health Departments of Provincial Governments towards this problem.

Diseases.— There are prevalent in India a number of fell diseases which cause a heavy mortality, namely, plague, cholera, influenza, fevers, consumption, small-pox and others. Influenza in 1918 carried away about seventy lakhs of people. Plague and cholera play a great havoc year by year. Unless the vitality of the people rises and their sanitary life improves there is always a great danger of the mortal effects of these fell diseases continuing. It is high time for us to wake up and to do our duty in this most vital and urgent matter of public health.

Government's duty.— In modern times it is the duty of government to protect the people from the ravages of disease and drink. Drink has effect on body and reduces the natural power of resistance to diseases. In hot climate it is more injurious. Prohibition of drink must be the aim and policy of government. Prevention of diseases must be one of its primary duties. Very little has been done by Indian Government in these matters if we compare their work with that of Western Governments. There is neither a dispensary, nor a doctor, nor a nurse to guide or to help the diseased in the majority of villages, and much less any hospitals. Our villages are full of dirt, disease, death and squalor in every hut or house of which they generally consist. Private voluntary organisations can do very little. The government must give up the laissez faire policy and have an active policy in these vital necessities of India. A state medical service serving every village and town with doctors, nurses, dispensaries, hospitals, sanatoria, and research laboratories are immediately needed. Government has been giving help to medical research into various diseases, such as malaria, plague, cholera, tuberculosis, kala-azar and others.

Medical aid and relief for women such as hospitals and colleges, the baby week and child welfare are to a certain extent encouraged in towns through quasi-official institutions. There are also a number of local and provincial voluntary private institutions of the type of Seva Sadan doing this sort of welfare work. Even in large towns in India the provision of medical aid is inadequate. The hospitals are few and they cannot cope with the large number of sick people that require hospital treatment. The condition of rural areas is simply appalling. Dispen-

saries are few and those not even well-kept. Medicines are few and not sufficient. There are hardly any hospitals and doctors to go to.

Governmental Organisation.—There is a Director-General of the Indian Medical Service. He supervises the medical work throughout India and is responsible to the Government of India. There is a Sanitary Commissioner for the whole of India who looks after the development of preventive medicine. Each province has its own medical organisation. Its chief medical officer is called either Surgeon-General or Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals. There is also a Sanitary Commissioner or a Director of Public Health who is responsible for the supervision of preventive medicine. Each district is in charge of a Civil Surgeon. There are in some districts Deputy Sanitary Commissioners or District Health Officers. The taluka dispensaries are in charge of Assistant Surgeons or Hospital Assistants. Most of the hospitals and dispensaries are under government control. They are maintained or aided by public or private support. In every province there are medical colleges affiliated to the universities and hospitals are attached to them for practical training. There are Sanitary Boards which control and supervise the work of district and municipal boards in connection with water-supply and drainage schemes.

CHAPTER X.

Our Economic Life.

“ Artha (material life) is the basis of Dharma and Kama (religious and social life).”

“ Poverty is verily a living death for man.”—Kautilya.

1. GENERAL FEATURES.

Need of a higher economic life.—The economic welfare of 35 crores of people is a great problem before the country. A contented material life is the primary basis of a higher life, civilised and spiritual. A good material environment exerts a powerful influence on the life, thought and character of a people. Therefore we must study the economic factors and material resources of a nation in order to understand its economic capacity and possibilities largely as a self-sufficing and also as a progressive social and political unit.

A good economic life results largely from man's exploitation of his physical environment, that is, land and the natural forces which are found in it, and the help which that environment gives to man and his various capacities. Therefore a knowledge of—

(1) The material resources and the underlying forces of the country which help or affect man in his acquisition of the goods of material life is necessary. In this the influence of the climate, the soil, and its products on the energy and character of man should also be studied, because environment moulds man as man moulds his environment, and also a knowledge of

(2) the man and his innate capacities which create material goods or utilities out of the raw products which are available round about him or which he secures by his efforts is required. In this his physical power, his art and craftsmanship, and his scientific knowledge which enables him to utilise his available material resources and forces are to be studied.

India's vast resources.—We have already noted that India possesses vast material resources which are rich and useful in their qualities. A fertile soil, a helpful climate, a great mineral wealth embedded in the earth, a plentiful supply of water given by rivers and monsoons, a good growth of wood and a large quantity of coal and metal, and an abundance of domestic cattle, are variously distributed in the country. The natural

forces in the shape of water-power, coal-power, oil-power, and steam and electricity generated with the help of scientific knowledge are available in different parts. Natural harbours on a large coastline exist in different directions which make an easy contact with foreign countries possible for commerce. Great forests supply some of the needs of raw material for domestic life and industries, and also wild animals, like elephants, and medicinal herbs and plants for man's use. Great and navigable rivers have always helped the progress of internal commerce and civilisation in different parts of the country in pre-road and pre-railway days, and also now serve the same purpose where other or new means of communication are absent or more costly.

The various food grains, plants and fruits which the soil produces serve and suffice for the various tastes and necessities of the people. Rice, wheat, barley, millets, pulses, oilseed-plants (tila, castor, mustard, mahua, cocoanut), cotton, linen, jute, sugar-cane, spices (pepper, cloves, cardamom, cinnamon, saffron, ginger, turmeric), colour-plants (indigo), sandal-wood, mangoes, jackfruit, plums, apples, nuts, palms, plantains, grapes, oranges, citrons, lemons and guavas are the most important. Kinds of vegetables and roots for food purposes are too various and too numerous to be enumerated. Silk and lac are also largely produced.

Animals of domestic use abound a large numbers. Wild animals give some useful products. Their use for pastoral and agricultural purposes is very great. Draught cattle, milk cattle, wool-bearing cattle, meat cattle, riding and burden-bearing cattle are all there. Sheep, goats, bulls, cows, buffaloes, horses, camels, asses, elephants, are very useful in times of peace and war. Skins of wild animals like lions, tigers, bears, deers^{and} and boars are serviceable. Tusks of elephants have been of enormous use from very old times. Musks of the musk-deer, and chauries from the tail of the yak are well-known. Fish and some birds are plentiful and serve as food. Oyster-fish makes the pearl industry profitable.

In mineral wealth India is quite rich. Large quantities of gold, copper and iron, coal, manganese and mica abound in the country, and therefore industrial development is possible to a very large extent. There are also found other useful metals like silver in various quantities.

India also abounds in precious stones, diamonds, sapphires, etc. There are salt mines, and salt is also extracted from sea water.

Its sea and land connection and communication.—India being in the middle of Asia and in the south surrounded by sea on three sides has easy access by sea to civilised countries on the west and the east and also to the numerous islands lying in the Indian Ocean. Consequently maritime trade routes developed from early times and the art of navigation reached an advanced stage. The natural resources and products of man's skill found a large demand and were easily transported by indigenous and foreign merchants to various parts of the adjacent world.

India's land routes and mountain passes connecting it with northwestern, northeastern, and northern countries have been less of economic or commercial and more of cultural and military value. Still they introduced some new arts and crafts of economic importance.

The genius of her people.—The past history and the present ethnography of India show that the country is inhabited by a variety of races of different capabilities and craftsmanship and of different intellectual acumen and physical strength and aptitude. They have developed a high level of skill and aptitude, organisation and technique in various arts and crafts, industries and trades. The qualities of head, heart and hand are found suitable for various professions, industrial, commercial, agricultural, artistic and literary amongst them. If their skill and efficiency are maintained and developed, there will not be any dearth of trained hands or heads suitable for various vocations. It will be the fault only of their internal quarrels, religious outlook, political checks, and unfair foreign competition that will deprive them of their economic opportunities and retard their material progress. Their present economic misery is more due to these causes than to any natural economic defect. Most of the arts and crafts and methods of pastoral, agricultural, industrial and commercial life have been prevalent in the country in a high degree. It is only the new methods of industrial revolution and co-operation that have not had time to develop and materialise in a prosperous and profitable way. But the pre-revolution industrial and mechanical systems of organisation, and technique and marketting, namely, domestic or cottage manufacturing and commercial and banking methods were fully prevalent in the country. Various arts and crafts such as spinning and weaving, pottery-making, vessel-making, smithy, gold and silver work, wood and metal work, sculptural, carving and architectural work, weapon manufacture, and a number of others engaged the industrial population of India, and their products were sought for largely even in foreign countries.

Her economic advance.—Various systems of agriculture and irrigation, the advanced art of mining, and purifying metals, the use of minerals raw and refined, the domestication and breeding of cattle, preparation of chemical and pharmaceutical products, preservation of pickles and fruits and a large number of other economic activities which supplied and satisfied the wants of the people were regularly known and practised. The country presented all the aspects of man's economic work, pastoral, agricultural, industrial, commercial and banking. Many followed the profession of merchants and bankers and carried on and controlled the internal and foreign trade. The caravan and trade routes of India constantly flowed with the articles of import and export and gave access to different parts of the country. Foreign trade generally followed the sea routes, and maritime merchants braved the dangers of the ocean and early perils of contact with pirates and foreigners. The art of navigation, the banks and the system of bills of exchange, the study of foreign languages, the study of markets, weights and measures, the system of tariffs and customs were fully familiar to them. Kautilya's Arthashastra gives a full picture of the various economic activities which the people followed, and the organisation which the state set up for helping, regulating and controlling them. Manu gives the various activities of a Vaisya. Later literature fully endorses the varied character of the economic advance and activities of the people. Man in India has not been idle nor passive nor non-economic. He fully developed the material aspects and arts of social life and took a real part in economic work. In order to carry on agriculture, industry and commerce well, a certain amount of capital and its organised use and help were necessary. This want was met by the habit of saving of the people which developed a class of capitalists and bankers who financed agriculturists, industrialists, merchants, and the state. Their banks, their bills of exchange, their rates of interests were used and recognised by the people and the state. Religion did not condemn them as usurists. Industries were organised in craft-guilds and commerce in merchant-guilds whose economic independence largely helped to maintain the quality and the weight and the measure of the articles produced. They checked unlimited competition in the market and helped to preserve the skill and technique which was traditional. Technical education in these vocations was given on the apprentice system in an actual factory. The workshop was also the school.

Technique.—The methods of organisation and technique

were of small-scale manufacturing type where individual skill of hand, and individual conceptions of work or art found scope and development. It was not a mass and machinery production of absolutely standardised patterns. The industrial work was largely done at home or in a small factory. Man and not the machine dominated, and man was an economic being taking full advantage of the material resources of the country.

The economic man in India was not a mere conservative being who held fast to the old order of economic ideas and systems. He was not an immobile being. There were daring and enterprising merchants and industrialists who employed their knowledge and capital in undertaking risks in business and new industries. In times of political insecurity and troubles they maintained their own guards and followed the course of their trade at large risks under their own system of protection and adventure both by sea and land. Merchant-adventurers were a great factor in those times. Thus man and his material resources were fully developed and were active factors in the economic life of pre-British India.

Economic functions and policy of the State.—Moreover it is important to note that the conception of the functions of the state was not merely protective. It was not of a neutral state. It recognised promotive or welfare functions as one of its duties. Its economic strength and prosperity depended on that of the people, and in helping the people in their economic welfare it helped them in their security. On the prosperity of the people depended largely the preservation of peace amongst them. Economic security and advance ensured also political peace and good government.

Her present economic condition.—But the present position of her economic life is not at all satisfactory. A large number of her people are on the verge of economic starvation. The primary wants of the people as regards food, clothing, dwelling, health and recreation are not satisfied. The minima of subsistence are wanting in a large number of homes. There is no staying power during times of economic adversities, such as famines, epidemics, fires and floods. There are hardly any elements of a civilised economic life visible in thousands of families. There is no fixed standard of living which is considered essential for good material life and bodily preservation and growth of individuals. The old industries and crafts have died under foreign economic pressure and unfair competition which are being helped by government. A regular campaign

of their destruction has been followed in the past in order to favour foreign products, their interests and profits. The new industries and arts have not taken root because of the state inactivity or hostility. No fostering care has been at all bestowed on them. Foreign merchants, bankers, and industrialists have opposed successfully the indigenous economic enterprise and advance in various trades, industries and transport systems. The carrying trade of the country, internal and external, managed by railways and steamships is completely in their hands and is worked through a system of import and export tariffs regulated to advance their commercial and industrial interests. India is at present held completely in the economic grip of the foreigner. The state is not anxious to help in loosening that strangle-hold which it helped in creating by following a policy of *laissez faire* and preference and tariff and custom regulation. Consequently the economic strength of the people is fully ruined. The only resources left to the people are to work on the heavily congested land and in a few factories and mills as labourers, and in a few trades and professions as subordinate clerks or middlemen. Their creative power has no scope nor encouragement. The economic octopus and the political rule of foreigners have destroyed this power, and the present economic position of the people is very deplorable. To get out of it is the chief economic problem of India.

The average income of an Indian—The average income of an Indian is variously enumerated. But even the optimistic calculations do not leave any doubt about the economic misery and ruin wrought amongst the people owing to their economic unemployment and want of opportunities.

Estimates of our national income vary from Rs. 45 to 90 per year per head at present. In Japan it is Rs. 271, in Germany Rs. 634, in France, Rs. 636, in Great Britain Rs. 1,092, in Canada Rs. 1,268 and in the U. S. A. Rs. 2,053.

The Famine Commission. (1880) says, "At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and the risk to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture alone forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population and no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupation."

The chief causes of poverty in India seem to be :—

1. A steady growth of population.
2. Want of a variety of industries and other employment.

3. Agriculture as the sole source of livelihood.
4. The prevalence of famines and pestilences.
5. The yield of land not increasing and land deteriorating.
6. Difficulties of emigration.
7. Deterioration of skill and productive power of the people. owing to want of employment and occupation, and outworn methods of production and implements.
8. Rise in prices of food-stuffs.
9. Irresponsible land revenue policy.
10. Very little scope for internal migration.
11. A large number of people underemployed.

The fact of poverty.—It will easily be seen that poverty is a grim fact in India. It is not confined to a class, and is not the result of unequal distribution arising out of a capitalistic system as is in the European countries. It is due to a very small amount of production and income per head. Even if we take the high estimate of 100 rupees per year per head, it means four and a half annas per day. How is this going to suffice for food which requires practically the most of it, and also for clothing, housing, education, medical aid, religious festivals and observances, charities, conventional necessities, such as tobacco, betel, ornaments, and the state demands.

Large indebtedness.—But this is the highest estimate. Then the rise of prices which has taken place has to be taken into account. The average income is really two annas or so per day. One can just imagine the economic capacity of the people. Their purchasing power is the lowest possible. The half starved population whose number is very large dies early owing to vital exhaustion and easy amenability to diseases. Sir William Hunter said in 1880 "There remain 40 millions of people who go through life on insufficient food." Mr. Darling to-day writes about the Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt, "The first and most obvious conclusion is that the bulk of the cultivators in the Punjab are born in debt, live in debt and die in debt." This is the condition of a province where the irrigation system has progressed the most. He says about the whole of India "So far as the rest of India and its 300 millions are concerned, no one can doubt that the supreme need of the country is food, more food, and still more food." Three-fourths of the agricultural population of India is burdened with debt. The total

agricultural indebtedness in India is 900 crores. Everywhere the struggle for existence is terrible. There is no state organisation to look after the unemployed who want work. There is no poor law system or insurance system which will relieve the dire wants of the very poor. The very poor depend upon the poor for charity and thus eke out their miserable lives. It is like blind leading the blind. There is no conscious, systematic and scientific effort made by the state to improve and organise the economic life of the country. The state takes but does not give. The state does not give the necessary education, medical help, charity nor relief. It only provides a Justice of the Peace, a court, a prison-house and a wineshop, and exacts sometimes compulsory labour.

The Moral and Material Progress Report of 1922 states that "the masses of the Indian population are beset with poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent, because less tropical, countries of Europe." Mr. Darling says "The money-lender is everywhere the evil genius of the cultivator, exploiting him when he is prosperous and enslaving him when he is poor." Unless his power is broken there is no economic freedom possible to the cultivator. His rates of interest are very high from 15 to 50 per cent. compound interest. his business honesty is very little, his accounts of debts and receipts given are often fraudulent, his advances of capital are often in lesser amounts than stipulated, his purchases and sales are disastrous to the cultivator. There is no way in which he does not deceive or tyrannise over him. The disastrous effect of this state of things is seen during time of famine and epidemics. People die in millions. The absolute want of food, employment, and purchasing and staying power and the lowering of vitality and easy succumbing to fell diseases have made these occurrences and havocs a national characteristic and calamity in India.

Government's Famine Policy.—The government evolved and followed a new famine policy and famine code since 1880. But the famine has stayed in India for long. In spite of the efforts of the government of India by way of direct famine work and the introduction of irrigation in different parts of the country, the growth of communications, and temporary exemptions, the people's power to face it has not increased. Though there is food in the country, there is no purchasing power amongst the famine stricken. Large quantities of food are exported out of the country even in times of famine. This emphasizes clearly the fact of the poverty of the people and the myth of their hoarded wealth.

Public debt of India.—The East India Company left a legacy of unproductive public debt which it incurred for fighting its wars. The unproductive debt was increased by the Crown government to meet its costly wars. The productive debt was incurred for the construction of railways, irrigation works, and other public works. It has gone on increasing. The main portion of our debt is held by non-Indians. The bulk of the public debt is productive. Its total is Rs. 1,235.74 crores out of which Rs. 513.36 crores is sterling debt in England and Rs. 722.38 crores is rupee debt in India. Rs. 981.03 crores give interest. Rs. 51.52 crores are cash, bullion and securities held on treasury account, and Rs. 203.19 represent unproductive debt.

2. THE CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE.

India's population.—India contains 2,575 towns, and 6,85,665 villages. Out of 35.23 crores of inhabitants 89.8 per cent. or 31.28 crores live in villages and only 11 per cent. or 3.90 crores in towns. 70 per cent or 24.5 crores or three out of every four directly depend on pasture and agriculture proper, and 6 crores indirectly helping it in a subsidiary way. Only 10 per cent or 3.5 crores depend on industries, trade and other professions. India has thus essentially and mainly become an agricultural country. Consequently the pressure of population on land is very great. The old adjusting balance and proportion between agriculture and industrial economy is lost, and the economic helplessness of the people is now very deplorable. The quantity of land available for an economic holding is scanty. Man cannot subsist on the income of the average acreage he gets. The average amount per head of the people is estimated not to be above 1.5 to 2 acres even if the cultivable waste is taken into consideration. The total cultivated area to-day is roughly 232 million acres and the rural population of India is 31.38 millions. This means the average quantity of land per head will be about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre.

Over the whole of India the average density per square mile of population is 195. It is increasing from 1872. The average number of person per house in India is about 4 to 5. The average birth rate in British India is about 36 per mile, and death rate about 26 per mile, and thus the survival rate about 5.5 per mile. There are 7 crores of houses. The population of females born per 1,000 males averaged 940 in 1931. The hill and forest tribes numbered about 2.46 crores in 1931.

The number of acres per family.—The above figures show that poorer sections of the community possess still less. An

average family of four or five members will possess about three or four acres. This is hardly a family economic holding which can hope to suffice for and satisfy the primary wants of man's existence and much less of any civilised subsistence. There are not now any large quantities of uncultivated land available in the country to be brought under the plough. Whatever be the amount of additional land available for cultivation it is of an inferior kind, poor in productive power and difficult for clearing and cultivation.

No room for expansion or emigration.—Thus there is hardly any appreciable room for agricultural expansion in the country. Foreign countries and colonies have closed their door against Indian immigrants coming as free and proprietary peasants. Thus emigration outside India is closed. Indian labourers who have been taken abroad as indentured coolies have been repatriated on one pretext or another and have not been allowed to settle there.

Increase of population.—Then the population of India has been increasing, though slowly and the land remains a fixed quantity and deteriorates after the exhaustion of the soil for want of proper manuring, and for not being allowed to recoup its richness by lying fallow. The population of India has increased by 100 millions from 1872 to 1931, that is, there is an increase of 40 per cent during this period. It goes on increasing as before. This will lead to more and more pressure on land.

Population and birth control.—The population of India is increasing every year and though the rate of increase is not very great, the capacity of the agricultural and other industries to bear its sustenance is limited. The soil and industry will not be able to maintain the increasing population even under the present low standard of living. Therefore in order to prevent starvation and to secure a better standard of living, the ideas of limiting population and of birth control are being advocated and taking root in the country. It means controlling consciously the birth rate by artificial methods that prevent conception of life. Some oppose this method and are for self-control or god-control. If birth control methods are adopted, it is stated that it would not affect mother's health by too frequent births, it would not press on father's earnings, and it would not deteriorate his standard of living. It would create small families with responsible parents who would not give birth to unwanted children. They would live well within their means. In large families there is great infant mortality, maternal mor-

claims the legal ownership of the land as a result of the conquest of the country. Therefore the land in the hands of the individuals is considered legally the state property. It claims to take not only a tax or a share in the produce in lieu of protection given, but also a rent as the legal and final owner of the soil. It takes about 38 crores of rupees. Land revenue is considered less as a tax and more as a rent. All the state's relations with and demands on the peasants are based on and regulated on this principle. The state asserts the right of constantly increasing the assessment of revenue without reference to the peasants' wishes or needs, and of confiscating the whole land in the possession of the peasant. This right of forfeiture is based on the principle of the state ownership of land—a principle which was never recognised by early Hindu law-givers. The land according to them belonged to the people, that is, to the early settlers who cleared and cultivated it. State arose afterwards to protect it. A tax was paid for the sake of protection.

Effect of state ownership of land.—This conception of the state ownership of all land presses heavily on the prosperity of the people. The present heavy claims and the indefinite and absolute right of increasing the assessment, the right of confiscation and forfeiture, the rigidity in the demand of revenue, the payment of revenue in cash irrespective of the quantity and quality of produce, the absence of ordinary judicial jurisdiction in matters of dispute and difference between the government and the peasant, the executive or administrative character of revenue laws and courts, the vesting of executive power and revenue jurisdiction in the same hands leave the peasant population helpless against the government which is both the party and the judge in all these matters. It is a travesty of politics, economics and justice.

Systems of land tenure.—The system of land tenure of land in India is not merely that of Rayatwari or peasant proprietorship, where land is held in single independent holdings owned severally and land revenue is paid by the actual cultivator-owner. The Zamindari or Talukdari system and the joint village or communal system are also prevalent, the first in Bengal, Behar, Orisa, the U. P., and in some other parts, and the other largely in the Punjab.

Zamindari system.—In the Zamindari system which covers 53 per cent. of the land in British India there is a landlord either an individual or a few joint owners introduced as an intermediary between the state and the cultivator. The state and the zamindar take a large portion of the produce, and leave the remaining

to the actual cultivator. The zamindar has acquired the proprietary rights either on account of his ancestor's political services to the present government or to preceding governments and enjoys them hereditarily. The share paid to the government is called 'settlement' which is either permanent or temporary. 27.1 per cent of the land is settled permanently in Bengal and Bihar and 12.4 per cent temporarily in other parts. The zamindar becomes a serviceable member of the society if he uses his wealth for its goodness or welfare. If not he is more or less an economic parasite spending his unearned wealth recklessly for his own pleasures and vices. The actual cultivator who works hard suffers.

Joint village system.—The joint village system or Mahalwari is merely a method of paying revenue to the government. The land may be jointly assessed and the revenue paid through a common elected or hereditary headman or representative. But there is no middleman to profit or to earn out of the hard labour of the actual cultivators. The state makes its demands and receives its revenue as the ultimate owner and protector with its absolute right of taxation and assessment of revenue. The entire village is jointly responsible for payment of land revenue to the government. Sometimes the villagers hold all the land in common, and the proceeds are thrown together and divided amongst the co-sharers by village custom. Sometimes proprietors have their separate holdings, each paying the quota of revenue from his plot, and enjoying the surplus profits from it. In Rayatwari there has been a large increase of rent receivers and tenants. The actual cultivators own about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the land.

The question of tenant's rights is very important in Zamindari tenure. A number of Tenancy Acts have been passed to protect the interests of the tenants by limiting the rental demands and by preventing vexatious evictions.

Character of the holding.—The individual holding has become uneconomic and fragmentary not only because there is pressure of population on land but also because of the law of succession and partition which divides ancestral property into equal portions amongst male successors. This smallness of the unit or subdivision and fragmentation not only involves disputes and legal expenses, but also greater expenses in cultivation and production, which increase the cost of production and decrease the margin of profit, and make the subdivided unit absolutely uneconomic. It leads to a waste of agricultural capital. Large scale methods are impossible. Crude tools, bad seeds,

impossibility of rotation, low return, wasted labour, and want of co-operation are the results of this condition of things.

Personal and social difficulties.—Then there are personal and social difficulties which hinder the economic stability and advance of the peasant. His present ignorance and illiteracy, his joint family and caste system and a number of dependents or non-workers, his festival and marriage extravagance, his religious rites and fees, his birth and death ceremonies and expenditure, his *sraddha* expenses for his dead ancestors, his social expenses for *jati* dinner, the pressure of compulsory labour and presents exacted by officials, the absence of political rights and of a living conception of civil and citizen's rights, the absence of a strong public opinion and of a ready response from Government, the absence of a strong judiciary favouring popular, civic and civil rights, the division of society into a number of castes and sub-castes leading to disunion and to destruction of a strong civic conception, the dominance of religious outlook and political absolutism, and a blind faith in the existing order and in the *steady deterioration of society, a fatalistic outlook based on Karma and Punarjanma* or status conception of society, the absence of a strong central, social, religious or economic self-regulating or self-governing authority, all these factors have contributed to his setback or downfall. He does not feel himself free from within. He is bound and restrained from without. Hence he feels and is helpless socially, religiously, economically and politically. Along with the environmental revolution a psychological change must take place. It will help him to rise above his present position. Modern world requires a conscious change and an adjusting outlook. Medieval mind and morality will always be detrimental to progress, material and moral. He must learn to break the present bonds and to struggle for better conditions of life. A creative and not merely a possessive outlook is absolutely necessary in the modern conditions and necessities of life.

Necessity of subsidiary occupations.—Agriculture by itself does not occupy the whole time and energy of the peasant, nor does it yield sufficiently to satisfy his elementary economic wants as regards even food and clothing. He remains idle on an average for full four months during the year. He has to waste his time and energy in enforced idleness. He cannot leave agriculture because he has no other stable occupation or source of subsistence. Foreign imports and unfair competition, want of state aid, and want of skill and technical knowledge and organisation have killed his old cottage industries and have not

helped the growth of the new. Unless he utilises his spare time in subsidiary occupations he cannot make both ends meet. Formerly he employed his leisure in home occupations of non-agricultural nature. But the advent of British rule and its selfish policy and machine-products have changed all this. It has led to the greatest injury which can happen to a nation, namely, compulsory idleness and unemployment of human energy and the destruction of a self-adjusting and self-balancing agricultural and industrial economy. The loss of a supplementary income or the whole source of income has led to economic starvation and misery. No simple standard of life can obliterate the elementary wants of food and clothing and human vitality and physique.

Loss of balance between the agricultural and industrial economy.—The greatest defect in the present conditions of agricultural life is the disturbed relation between agricultural and industrial activity in the village. A happy union of cottage industries with agricultural work has been the secret of the old prosperity of the people. Peasant's isolation from work and his long periods of idleness have been the cause of his present misery. This state of affairs must be remedied.

The measures which have been suggested for village uplift and partially adopted as palliatives may be classified as follows :—

1. To educate the peasant.
2. To show him a scientific or improved system of agriculture.
3. To help him by erecting irrigation works.
4. To spread amongst peasants co-operative habits and societies.
5. To introduce an economic holding by law.
6. To create village *punchayats*.
6. To give him state help or state exemption by way of aid, loan, or exemption of taxes.
8. To suggest subsidiary industries.
9. To ensure his political and civic rights.

These and other similar suggestions or measures are expected to give the required result, namely, to increase the productive efficiency of the peasant and the produce of the land. We shall make a few observations on them.

Education of the peasant.—Education of the peasant has not progressed much. He is still illiterate. His mind is not

freed from religious and social systems, habits and prejudices which are detrimental to his economic life. His technical and scientific inefficiency still remains. His outlook is still conservative and fatalistic. The awakening of the peasant is hardly noticeable. He is easily cheated and tyrannised over by all.

Scientific aid by the state.—The government has established agricultural demonstration farms (for seed and cattle), schools and colleges at various places and created an agricultural department in every province to look after agricultural development. Scientific or improved systems of agriculture suitable to different localities and products are studied, exhibited and taught in the shape of improved tools, seeds, methods of ploughing, sowing, manuring, watering and cropping, change and rotation of crops and improvement of cattle and fodder. Soils have been analysed and show their agricultural value for particular crops old or new. A number of students have been trained who are expected to spread this knowledge amongst the farmers. But their difficulties have however remained. The new knowledge requires capital and experience in its use which they hardly possess individually. Hence progress has not been noticeable and the peasant has remained on the whole apathetic.

Irrigation work.—The government is building canals wherever possible and thus irrigating the land which had no or very little water and hence gave no produce. To the extent that new cultivable land is brought under cultivation, or old cultivated land is helped, the country has benefitted. The irrigation system in the Punjab has helped the agricultural classes of the province. But it cannot help to improve the position of the old land and its produce where the problem is not of deficiency of water.

The co-operative movement.—The co-operative movement organised by the co-operative Societies Act of 1912 has introduced the ideas of self-help, thrift and co-operative work amongst the peasants. It alleviates and cures some ills. Co-operative credit societies which lend money at lower interest but on joint responsibility through their co-operative banks, co-operative productive societies which carry on many of the processes of production jointly and economically in the matter of purchase of seeds, farming and cultivation, co-operative distributive societies which look after the marketing and sale of the product jointly, and co-operative stores which supply the necessities cheaply and distribute the profits amongst shareholders, have all helped to spread economic and co-operative habits amongst them, and have saved them from the usual exploitation of the

system of free kitchen, free cloth and free cottage, every person who wants to satisfy these human wants will have to work. No advance in mechanical and large scale production can satisfy the hunger of many. He must possess purchasing power, which means, he must produce goods and exchange goods. Therefore the problem in a national system of economics is the employment of all human energy and time in production and exchange. Machinery must help man in satisfying his wants and not in depriving him of them. Mere production of goods by any one and anywhere will not solve the problem unless they are freely distributed. Free distribution being impossible under the present system of individual economy, only personal work can help to satisfy the material wants of man.

Pressure of public opinion necessary.—But in most of these measures the peasant has to look to others and especially the government for taking an initiative in the new measures suggested. But without a good deal of pressure from the people governments do not move. Hence the problem of a large share in the political power of the country, in the local, provincial and central assemblies and administration, is a great necessity and desirability. Swaraj must be acquired. The political power must be controlled by public opinion whose wants and wishes must be satisfied. It must be a people's government and for the people and by the people. Then only their civic rights and interests can be preserved and promoted.

The problems of village Panchayats and of universal suffrage in provincial and central councils is largely political, and will be dealt with under the political life of the country.

There is a close relation between economics and politics of a country. The political power helps largely the progress and prosperity of the economic life of the people. State is a great factor in economic regeneration, protection and advance. And the people must control the organisation and functions of the state so that it may serve, as it ought to, the material and moral interests and ideals of a nation.

Some stronger remedies.—There are also some stronger remedies suggested to ameliorate the conditions of the peasants, the nationalisation of the land and the eradication of landlords, money-lenders and other exploiters of the cultivators. These are socialistic or collectivistic ideas. But our government is foreign and self-interested. It won't work the machinery completely in the interests of the community. It is itself a great capitalist exploiting the whole country in its own foreign

interests. To give the whole land in its hand would be a great disaster. Without a national government these remedies can not be tried. They will make the people more helpless economically.

The governmental organisation.—In 1901 the government of India appointed an Inspector-General of Agriculture to act as an advisor in agricultural matters to the Imperial and Provincial governments. In 1903 a Central Agricultural Research Institute with an experimental farm and agricultural farm at Pusa were established. It carried on research and teaching. In 1911 the post of the Inspector-General was abolished and an Agricultural Advisor to the Government of India was appointed. He was also made the Director of the Pusa Institute.

Agricultural Department farms and colleges were developed in various provinces under Directors of Agriculture. Since 1921 agriculture became a transferred subject under a minister. On the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1928) an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was established in 1929, and the advisory functions of the Agricultural Advisor to the Government of India were transferred to this newly created Council. The provincial departments of agriculture carry on experiment and research on agricultural farms and laboratories, organise propaganda work to demonstrate new methods and new implements, new manures, pure seeds and improved crops, and control and guide agricultural education. They also arrange agricultural and cattle shows and exhibitions from time to time. They study problems of agricultural chemistry, soil improvement and agricultural pests. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research is expected to promote, guide and co-ordinate agricultural research work throughout India. After the earthquake of 1935 the Pusa Institute was transferred to Delhi.

These and other government departments must take the initiative and make an organised and continuous effort in the cause of village reconstruction and uplift. Their activities affect the lives of the rural population. It is their bounden duty to undertake a widespread campaign in this matter. Their utility depends on the vigorous and forward policy they may have and carry out. Want of a strong policy has minimised their utility. Agricultural colleges, research institutes and farms have not had any visible effect on the development of agriculture and the betterment of the life of rural population.

Rural reconstruction and uplift.—The object of rural development is the advance of the rural community towards a

better life—moral, cultural, physical and economic. The problem has to be studied and solved as a whole, in which the man, the environment and the means are all to be taken into consideration. The villager's bodily needs are those of proper and sufficient food, clothing, housing, medical care and relief, recreation, sanitation, and prevention of diseases.

His mental needs are those of literacy and education, liberal and vocational, of schools, libraries and reading rooms, and of other cultural facilities, such as lantern-lectures, cinema-shows, radio-talks, demonstrations and exhibitions.

His moral needs are those of a new scientific, active and co-operative progressive outlook on life in place of the old apathetic and fatalistic one, and of a new consciousness of enterprise and efficiency and will to achieve in doing away with evils and superstitions.

His economic needs are those of better forms of land tenure and more scientific methods and means of production, improved means of rapid and cheap communication, improved breed of cattle, better supply and distribution of water, favourable marketing facilities and easy credit, co-operative and collective undertakings.

There must be a regular plan for the building up of a new progressive rural life. Is the rural development, however, to be the revival of the old type of village which has been disturbed and disorganised by the impact of modern industrial civilisation, or is it to be the adjustment of its social and economic system to the changed needs and changing conditions in the country and outside? Improved means of communication and transport and more active trade within the country and with the outside world have upset the old rural economy of India. Old handicrafts and trades have died out or decayed, the pressure of the population on the soil has steadily increased and unemployment or underemployment is becoming very common.

But how far will this revival of old rural life and industries rescue from ruin the dead or dying occupations of the rural population in competition with machine-made goods, and with the rapidly changing needs and tastes of the people? Can the idea of a self-sufficient village be attained and maintained? But if an attempt to find new avenues of employment for the rural population is not found in the villages themselves, how is that population to be saved from starvation and misery? Justice Ranade advocated the rapid establishment of new industries and thus maintain a proper balance between the town

and country and between agriculture and industry. Mahatma Gandhi advocates the revival of cottage industries and adoption of simple living to meet the pressing needs of villagers. The well-being of India depends on the balancing of agriculture and industry and not merely emphasizing the agricultural aspect of her economy. Indian industrial development is very backward and requires a great impetus and a regular plan of measuring its resources and developing them scientifically by fixed stages. Along with the improvement of villages, urban industries have to be rapidly developed in order to relieve the pressure of population on land and create new avenues of work and employment. Old and new Indian industries are being killed by foreign preferences and unfair competition. This process must be legally stopped in the interests of the economic welfare of the people. Indian industries must be protected and developed by tariffs, aids and subsidies.

The three evils from which the peasant largely suffers are heavy interest charges on his debts, high rents where he is a tenant, and excessive land revenue. From all these he is to be freed.

Peasants' demands.—We have now peasants conferences arising in various parts of India trying to understand, discuss and find remedies for their own problems. Their main object is to secure complete freedom from economic exploitation and the achievement of full economic and political power for the peasants and workers and all other exploited classes. Their main task is the organisation of peasants to achieve these objects. They are oppressed by landlords, land revenue officers, middlemen and money lenders, and an oppressive land revenue system. There should be passed a number of ameliorative measures by legislation to help them.

There is an All-India Kisan Committee which is working through various provincial Kisan Sabhas for the Kisan movement based on these objects. They are for abolishing landlordism everywhere and for vesting the ownership of land in the cultivators. Instead of land revenue and its periodical resettlements by the executive authority, they want a graduated land tax upon net incomes of Rs. 500/- and more to be levied. They demand that they should be completely relieved of their old debts or interest thereon. They ask that the cultivable land in the hands of government should be given to landless peasants. They want cancellation of all arrears of rent and revenue, abolition of all land revenue assessment and rent from uneconomic holdings and reduction by at least 50 per cent of rent and revenue on others.

Uneconomic holdings should be exempted from rent. Holdings should be consolidated. To prevent further fragmentation laws of succession should be changed. A preferred heir should succeed and compensate the other heirs. Co-operative farming should be introduced. All tenants and sub-tenants should as a rule be given rights of occupancy on the lands under their cultivation. Agricultural incomes should be assessed to income-tax like other incomes on a progressive scale. All feudal dues should be abolished and demands other than rent should be made illegal. Illegal exactions should be made cognisable offences. The practice of not granting receipts for rent should be penalised. Arrears of rent should be wiped out. The law relating to the ejectment of tenants should be greatly modified, and arrears of rent should be realised in the same manner as land-revenue is realised from the zamindars, that is, by attachment and sale of moveable properties, and by giving the land on a temporary lease and realising the income until the arrears are paid. Canal and other irrigation rates should be substantially reduced.

3. INDUSTRY.

India's industrial population.—The industrial population of India is comparatively very small. In proportion to her vast population and resources, and in spite of her past industrial tradition, skill and organisation, the number of workers who work in modern industries is very insignificant, amounting to 1.5 per cent as against 27.8 per cent in the United Kingdom.

In modern times national prosperity depends more upon the industrial efficiency of the people than only on the natural resources of the country. Countries which have not large resources but import their raw products and produce finished articles are comparatively far richer. But India is industrially inefficient, unorganised, and largely unproductive. It is this insufficient industrial production which has caused India's poverty. A number of causes have contributed to bring about this condition. —

Causes of India's industrial backwardness. 1.—Advance of European countries in modern mechanical and large-scale method of industrial production and their keen competition.

2. Governmental apathy and hostility.

3. Inefficiency of labour and organisation, and want of co-operative undertaking.

4. Shyness and want of capital and absence of risk-takers and combinations.

5. Want of technical education.

Economic pressure has destroyed the immobility of labour and there is a drift of landless labourers towards the city for employment in modern industries. But the advance of these industries depends on the technical skill and capacity of the labour, the scientific management and organisation of the factory and the employees, the keeping of an up-to-date machinery and the marketing of finished products. But these elements are not sufficiently advanced in India. Hence barring a few industries which possess natural advantages India's industrial development will not take place unless she is able to develop new industries to employ those who are ousted from the old by introduction of improved labour-saving machinery.

Pressure on land and want of employment.—To-day the working population which is thrown off from old industries by the introduction of new large-scale mechanical methods falls on the land and presses heavily on the limited means of subsistence, when agricultural population has lost or given up old methods of subsidiary occupations which employed their leisure and supplied some of their wants. Industrialisation of India has meant in practice an increase of unemployment and a pressure of population on land. Foreign competition fair and foul does not allow the development or even preservation of old and new industries. State has followed the policy of laissez faire or hostility and not of direct aid or protection. Hence the protective and promotive measures which European countries adopted to establish new industries have been altogether absent in India. European countries want markets for their surplus products, and conquered or backward countries and colonies are forced to supply them. There is an inherent antagonism between their economic interests. The ruling power has adopted various ingenious methods by way of customs, rates, tariffs, transport, charges, education, economic policy, etc., which check the industrial advance of India. There is no economic policy which is meant to protect and promote our industries, to educate our workers, and to preserve our market. The banks in the country do not help indigenous industrial undertakings. The transport system and rates, railways, waterways and ocean way do not give facilities for Swadeshi enter-
They are managed by and in alien interests.

Industrial conditions.—By the year 1933 the total number of organised industries or industrial concerns in the whole of India (including states) were 8,754 of which only 4,097 were perennial. The rest were seasonal. These industrial concerns comprise all factories which come under the operation of the Indian Factories Act, as also those industrial concerns in the states which are of sufficient industrial importance. The total number of perennial industrial concerns in British India was 3,517 employing in all 1,081,096 persons, and those in the states was 580 employing 147,855 persons. In all there were 3,792 seasonal industrial concerns in British India employing an aggregate of 311,963 persons. In the states there were 865 seasonal industrial concerns employing only 58,634 persons. Thus the total number of seasonal as well as perennial industrial establishments in the whole of the country was 8,754 employing an aggregate of 1,599, 548 persons.

Sir M. Vishwesvaraya says “Industrialise or perish” in connection with our economic problem of poverty.

Government Department.—There is a Department of Industries in the Central Government from 1921 and there are also Provincial Directors of Industries. They are supposed to encourage, to start, to aid industries which are suitable and to find out new ones which would be profitable. But very little has been done for want of funds. The Reserved departments and non-votable items of central expenditure exhaust a lot of revenue leaving very little for the welfare functions of the people. There is also an Indian Stores Purchase Department established to make purchases for government and railway purposes which is supposed to encourage Indian industries.

Industrial development requires promotion of technical and industrial education, government aid and tariff protection and labor efficiency and satisfaction. The Government of India studied these problems with the help of the Industrial Commission of 1917, the Fiscal Commission of 1921, and the Royal Commission on Labour of 1929. It has not been able to accept or carry out their recommendations fully. It appointed a Tariff Board (1924) to study and to recommend industries for protection with discrimination. Conditions of labour and industries have not however much improved, though attempts have been made to improve and help them by new pieces of legislation. The chief difficulty is the want of a national policy. Imperial British interests have proved a great hindrance to Indian industrial development, which requires a sound banking

organisation, a well-developed system of transport and communication, a national railway and shipping policy, an effective marketing organisation and other facilities of knowledge, intelligence and support.

Cottage industries and their value.—Cottage industries have been the chief feature and the regulating balance of Indian economic life. They employ 14 million people. There are only 16 lakhs in organised industries. Some of them have continued to play useful part both in towns and villages. Formerly each village was provided with its own set of artisans and servants which made it independent and self-supporting. Excluding a few valuable and specialised or artistic products there were very few or no imports into villages. Each group of artisans and each caste of menials had its own functions and yearly remuneration fixed in the form of shares in the harvest. But this self-contained industrial character of villages has been gradually decaying under the stress of modern competition. Villages have got disconnected within and connected with the outside world, and many of their necessities come from abroad and are cheap or new fashioned which attract the villager. He is not now dependent on village artisans, but favours and purchases foreign articles. If the cottage industries are duly fostered, they may well supplement the cultivator's income.

In India many of the cottage industries prosper even now because many of her villages are isolated and her artisans work and live in a self-contained locality out of touch with the commercial world, except when they are brought in contact with the outside world by the railway. Machine has not entered the village and manual labour is the chief method of work. Moreover people still demand a variety of handmade goods not prepared by machine, and the market and the customer are near.

Their variety.—The most important of cottage industries are spinning and weaving, knitting, silk-rearing, bee-farming, poultry-farming, dairy-farming, cattle-breeding, fruit-growing vegetable gardening, toy-making and other wood-work, metal-work, carving, cloth-work, and a number of others. Amongst these handloom weaving is very wide-spread and engages 60 lacs of people. Their survival is due to old customs, tastes and fashions. In some cases machine methods are not applicable, and their products are cheaper in some cases because a lot of labor is free. There are 30 lacs of handlooms earning Rs. 50 crores per annum. If properly organised, encouraged, improved they will engage still a larger number of people.

Attempts are being made by the people and the Industries Departments to help this industry more methodically. Revival of universal spinning in leisure hours has been advocated and encouraged under the new Swadeshi and Khadi movement. This occupation is also employing the idle hours of those who cannot find any other work. Though it has not become universal, its value is great. Its daily income which is at least 2 annas a day is in keeping with the average daily income of our people. The competition of mill yarn, foreign and Indian, is a great handicap to the progress of spinning. Unless the spinner puts finer, stronger, more uniform yarn in market, the weaver's tendency for using mill yarn cannot be diverted towards hand-spun yarn. Handspinning is however making steady progress and is likely to be done on a larger scale if the ideas of a self-sufficient and independent life take root again. It has to compete very hard against mills and the changed tastes of the people.

The other cottage industries can only be possible in certain localities where proper resources or specialised and artistic skill are available and where there is a market for these special products. There cannot be laid down one type of cottage industry for all conditions and manner of life. But the essential fact should be borne in mind that idle moments must be utilised by following some useful economic occupation which adds to the earnings of a family.

Condition of the old labourer.—The condition of the hand-worker or labourer in industries must also be noted in understanding the development of the new economic life of towns and factories and its effect on the material and moral conditions of the worker. The character of the labourer of the pre-industrial era or of the non-industrial rural occupations has been quite different from that of the factory worker to-day. The old type of labourer generally led a simple and conservative life in economic matters, not multiplying his wants or changing his fashions every now and then. He was satisfied with his village products and village economy. The village was his enlarged home with likes and dislikes within its ambit. If he suffered it was not due to his want of economic effort and production but due to a number of outside sharers in his wealth, namely, the state and its officer, the temple and its priest, and the caste *punchayat*, as well as the money-lender who has entered into his home economy because of his extravagance. If he were less superstitious, credulous, and less extravagant in religious and social functions, he would always lead a happy economic life, because his whole time was properly employed in work.

His moral virtues and social values sanctioned and preserved by the old religious and social atmosphere prevailing round about him keep him away to-day from some of the vices of wine, woman and gambling which prevail amongst those who are not under the influence of old beliefs and environment. Joint family life and the vigour of caste control joined with religious traditions preserve in him a sort of civic outlook and a kind of higher personal and social morality.

The new industrial labourer.—But the new labourer in towns and factories comes under a different set of influences. He is wrenched away from a joint life of mutual regard and help in the family, from the environmental influences and checks of religion, caste and social atmosphere. His old bonds and bounds are broken in a new life of temptations where there is no social or religious control. There are not there the village-elders or caste brethren or religious priests to terrify him into submission to old ideas. He meets in the new surroundings new personalities, new standards and new situations. There is no old family life. There is a chawl or factory life where large masses of workers of different faiths, customs and passions congregate. Having lost the traditional reverence for the old virtues and values of life, he enters fully into the new wisdom or ignorance prevailing round about him. Under these circumstances the life of temptations and vices attracts him more and a low type of materialism takes hold of him. In this he is helped by his higher wages which are not accompanied by higher standards of comfort or civilised life. His working hours are no doubt long, his dwellings congested, ill-ventilated and barrack-like, his daily fatigue great, his work monotonous, and his exhaustion heavy. As a result he falls an easy prey to temptations and low standards of life, unless a steady effort is made to give him better surroundings social, religious and educational. Higher standards of life can alone keep him on a right path. Otherwise moral degradation will be the result.

His income.—The income of the town labour in factories and mills is much greater than in villages. It has been calculated in Bombay Cotton Mills to be about Rs. 149 per head per year. But his expenses are more for the same standard of life, and he does not receive as much in other industries. Thus the life of the new industrial worker is not necessarily a happy one unless he is provided with proper dwellings where he can lead a controlled family life, with some education which will teach him his work and higher standards of intellectual and moral life. His
 . . . and children must be protected and educated, medical

hospitals and help, maternity help, insurance against sickness and unemployment, co-operative stores, sanitation and hygiene, recreation and trade union advantages must be secured. Slum life of industrial cities is a great danger to human welfare.

In India the factory labourers are migratory. They do not constitute a permanent class of purely industrial workers. They possess agricultural interests and attachments. They come from the village and remain connected with it by family and property ties. Our labourer suffers therefore largely from illiteracy, inefficiency and undeveloped skill.

Work with the help of science and machinery.—With all these handicaps we cannot avoid developing our natural resources ourselves by employing new methods. If we do not interest ourselves in them foreigners will do it and are doing it. Without remaining idle and by utilising and engaging all human energy and power which are not employed at present in those occupations which are available and possible under the present economic and political conditions, and socio-religious conceptions we must aim at taking a full advantage of the developments of science and mechanical power so that our lost balance in the national economy between agriculture, industry and commerce, and an increasing population with its new standards of material, social and political life may be recreated and maintained. Economic prosperity means work with the help of science and machinery whenever and wherever possible and without them if practicable and necessary or inevitable. Man should never remain idle and be a parasite on society. His productive powers must be maintained by giving them some scope.

There are a number of other avenues of work to be scientifically exploited, namely, forests and fisheries, mines, metals and minerals, waterpower, sands, salts, clays and others. Science and machinery, technical skill and organisation, combination and co-operative work must be developed and utilised to create a great economic future for the country. Without them it will not be possible. On it depend largely other aspects of good life, moral and intellectual.

Modern Industrialism.—Modern industrialism is based on large scale mass production organised under huge combines, corporations and cartels. There is no individual product. It is a mass product with the help of machinery meant to compete in and to capture the world market. The individual worker is merely an infinitesimal unit whose interests and welfare are merged in the prosperity of the business. Hence large congre-

gations of workers have taken place. They combine in trade-unions to make their economic conditions better in a world of competition and conflict where the law of supply and demand and of laissez faire prevails. Industrialism has created a number of evils which press heavily on the workers, their wealth and welfare, from which the trade-unions try to protect them. Trade-unions are associations of working men in industry whose aim is to guard their economic interests and to make arrangements for the welfare of the worker when he is sick, old, incapacitated or unemployed. They came into existence to make a collective bargaining by the workers with the employers for higher wages possible and continue to exist to assert, to defend, and to make intelligible their claims and in addition to look to their welfare. Their method or weapons are generally strike and boycott when conflicts occur.

Trade Unions in India.—Under great difficulties Trade-Unions have arisen in India since 1918. The number of Trade-Unions is not very large at present. There is an All-India Trade-Union Congress started in 1920. Its aims are:—

1. Eight hours a day in factories and in mines.
2. Free and compulsory primary and technical education.
3. National insurance against sickness, old age and unemployment.
4. Prohibition of employment of women underground in mines, and provision of more women factory inspectors, crèches and day nurseries near factories, and maternity benefits.
5. Minimum wage.
6. Arbitration and conciliation legislation.
7. Labour representation in legislative councils.
8. Adult suffrage.
9. Self-Government for India and Indianisation of the public services.
10. Improvement of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

They also support prohibition of drink, gambling and other vices.

The Trade Union Act of 1926 has legalised the Trade Unions in India. The workers are rapidly organising and maintaining solidarity in times of strike.

Their present condition.—The conditions of industrial labour have improved to a certain extent under the efforts of

private agencies and state legislation. Improved housing and sanitation, maternity benefit and children's welfare schemes have been introduced in some places by employers. Frequent industrial disputes and strikes amongst labourers in India have led the government to pass the Trades, Disputes Act in 1929 and 1934. Its object is to maintain harmonious relations between workers and employers. It provides for the setting up of courts of inquiry consisting of independent outsiders and boards of conciliation consisting of representatives of each of the parties to the dispute. Disputes are not however settled compulsorily. It however prevents strikes without notice in public utility services in the case of persons employed on monthly wages.

Factory and other acts.—In order to protect the workers and make them contented and efficient a number of Factory Acts have been passed. Their aim is to provide good conditions of life and labour for workers in factories. The final Factories (consolidating) Act of 1934 prescribes a daily as well as a weekly limit to the hours of work in factories. The daily limit is 10 hours and the weekly limit is 54 hours in all perennial factories. In case of seasonal factories there is 11 hours a day and 60 hours a week limit. Children (12 to 15) are not to work for more than five hours a day. There are also provided rest intervals and a weekly holiday. The law insists on certain conditions with regard to ventilation, light and temperature being maintained to secure the workers against danger to health or serious discomfort.

The government has also ratified the recommendations of the International Labour Organisation which has given new ideals and methods. They prohibit employment of all women and girls and young persons under 14 at night.

Indian Mines (Amendment) Act (1935-36) lays down 54 hours week and 10 hours day. Minimum age for employment is raised to 15. Boards of health are also provided for. Social insurance is a great need to a labourer or worker whose economic security depends upon his own bodily fitness for work and opportunity to get it, and when he has no family or caste or public charitable institution to support him in case of illness, accident, unemployment, old age and invalidity. Social insurance schemes are based on the contributions of the employee, the employer and the government which recognises its duty towards the worker. Government has passed legislation to promote them. Workmen's Compensation Acts provide compensation to the worker or his family for certain kinds of injury, accidents or death caused during his employment.

There is no sickness insurance in India. Only in the case of women workers some provinces have passed maternity benefit acts which provide leave of absence before and after confinement, with a suitable wage allowance during the period of absence. There is no invalidity or old age insurance in India. In such condition people have to depend on the help of the family, caste or charity. We are told that there are 40 millions of old people, incapacitated people, widows and orphans. * There is no insurance provision for these by the government. In cases of government officials and servants there is either a system of pensions or provident fund. The latter system has been adopted by some public institutions. But it is not universal. Further, there is no unemployment insurance. The compulsory idleness of those willing to work is a great evil, moral, physical and economic. It destroys the energy of such people and makes them discontented and demoralised. In India there is a very large number of unemployed. India is largely in need of social insurance. The number of wage workers alone amounts to about 56 millions consisting of 31 million agricultural labourers and 25 million industrial workers. Besides the economic conditions of peasants, artisans and small traders become very bad when floods, famines, droughts, depressions and epidemics occur. Municipalities, employers and social service associations carry on welfare activities for the improvement of the health, housing, education, safety and well being of the worker. They provide also recreation in the form of games, cinemas, lantern lectures and encourage co-operative societies for purchase of goods.

4.—EMIGRATION.

Its prospects and conditions.—The evils of poverty, unemployment and over-population have been minimised in many countries by emigration to foreign uninhabited countries and colonies where means of subsistence are easily obtained and material resources are ample and easily workable. This was done by European countries, especially Spain and Portugal, England and France, because they captured and colonised a large part of the sparsely inhabited world where backward races led a nomadic or primitive life. They have now monopolised all the available colonies and control or prevent the immigration of foreigners in their own interests and future development. They refuse admission to Asiatic peoples. Hence this colonial field of emigration is now largely closed. In the early periods of colonial conquests and settlement when there was no all-white policy a number of African and Asiatic labourers were taken as slaves or on an indentured labour system to develop and to

work out the vast resources of the new or old continents captured and colonised. But to-day the exploitation of natural resources having taken place, the white population having increased and become stable and acclimatised, and a number of agricultural, industrial and commercial conveniences having developed, they do not feel the want of non-white labourers. On the contrary they have come to hate their presence in the colonies on racial, economic and cultural grounds. They want to expel those whom they had brought and who had helped them in developing the country. They have passed laws of restriction, segregation and repatriation and are making their descendants' life impossible and miserable in the colonies. This attitude is largely prevalent in British colonies which occupy a large part of the colonial world.

At present there are a large number of Indians nearly one and a half millions settled in various colonies, countries and islands whose lot is very hard. They are not welcomed as merchants or traders, labourers or skilled artisans, much less as professional men and priests or missionaries. They do not possess even elementary rights of citizenship. They cannot vote, hold land or trade and are segregated and differentially treated and maltreated.

The colonies where Indians have settled are Kenya, Tanganyika, Rhodesia, Uganda, Fiji and others which are Crown colonies, and South Africa and other self-governing dominions. There is not much to choose between the two types. Their harsh and inferior treatment, and their inferior economic and political condition are too well-known to be described.

Very little scope and freedom.—There is very little scope for the unemployed population of India by emigration to foreign lands. Even if the economic and political position of Indian colonists improves, there will be no new immigration allowed. Hence economically emigration is an impracticable suggestion. Membership of the British Empire does not mean equal citizenship within the Empire. Other countries and colonies follow the example of the British Empire. There is no scope or entrance into those countries. Politically India does not weigh as a forceful factor and her rights are ignored in international or colonial policy. No doubt, there are large tracts of the world only habitable by Indians, Chinese or similar races, but the British and others follow a dog-in-the-manger policy and will not allow them to settle there, even if they themselves cannot do it. This problem is a part of the problem of the dominance of Europe over the world.

5. TRADE AND TRANSPORT.

India's trade.—India's trade with foreign countries is very old. It now consists of (1) seaborne, (2) overland and (3) inland trade. Its character and direction has largely changed in modern times. It is mostly controlled by foreign agencies and factors. It now exports large quantities of food stuffs and raw materials and imports, mainly, manufactured goods.

There was a constant maritime trade of India with various countries and islands. Later on after the 15th century the maritime power of the western European nations arose. They destroyed the Arab traders. The Portugese, the Dutch, the French and the English established in succession their influence and trade in India. They established at first factories and later on political power and managed the foreign trade of India. New ports arose. Goa, Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta and others became gradually the great centres and harbours of trade. Both shipping and trade fell into their hands. The later development of steam ships, and internal development of roads, water-ways and railways for military purposes strengthened European commerce with India. Its machine made products found their way under British rule and encouragement into India in large quantities. The building of Suez Canal (1869) and the control of Egypt by England (1882) helped this process. Now these various means and methods have largely contributed to the growth of European commerce with and in India. But the measures which the British adopted helped largely the import of English manufactured goods and the export of Indian raw materials or precious metals. The taxation system, the railway system and fares, the tariff system, shipping restrictions, customs, prohibitions, and a host of other rules were created to facilitate the import of British and other manufactured goods. India was treated as a great customer. Her industries were checked and ruined. There was no state aid or intervention in favour of Indian industrial advance. Most of this trade is now in European hands who control railways and railway rates, shipping rates, ports and harbours, river navigation and all other things commercially important. Government of the country looks largely after their interests. One of the glaring instances of this favouritism was the excise duty on cotton goods imposed against the wishes of India in the interests of Lancashire cotton industry. The net loss which India incurs in maritime shipping which is in the hands of England is nearly 50 crores of rupees.

Banking.—The banking system of India is to-day based on the Reserve Bank of India. The Imperial Bank of India, the Foreign Exchange Banks, the Indian Joint Stock Banks, and the system of indigenous bankers.

Banking has been known in India from very early times. Indigenous bankers and their banks have financed the internal trade of the country and the needs of its rulers. To-day also indigenous bankers serve a useful purpose in the very large internal trade of the country. Their advances, their bills of exchange or Hundis, and their letters of credit have helped merchants in their daily routine and in times of extreme commercial activity and needs. Without their help the enormous internal trade of the country which comes to roughly 2,000 crores of rupees annually would not be carried on. Indian banker is found in every village, town or city. He finances the agriculturist, the petty artisan, trader and shopkeeper, and helps in the exchange of goods in the country. European banks and banking business, and co-operative credit societies have encroached upon his business in towns and villages, and business with the government of the country. In matters of foreign trade, however, which is worth 400 crores annually, European bankers and banks hold the reins and finance the concerns. They encourage and help only European and not any indigneous enterprise or firm. These banks make roughly 30 crores of profit every year in this lucrative business of financing foreign trade.

Reserve Bank of India.—The European system of banking is a new growth. In 1929-31 a comprehensive banking inquiry was made through Provincial Banking Inquiry Committees and a Central Banking Inquiry Committee. In 1935 the Reserve Bank of India was established. It is a shareholder's bank. It has five local head offices at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and Rangoon. It is managed by a Central Board of Directors consisting of 16 members. There are also local boards to advise the Central Board. It carries on commercial banking transactions and transacts governmental financial business. It cannot engage in trade or industry. It has the sole right of issuing notes and is the currency authority.

Other Banks.—The Imperial Bank of India established in 1921 has now 161 branches. It is the sole agent of the Reserve Bank and has to manage the governments' treasury business at its upcountry branches. It is the chief commercial bank of India.

There are eighteen foreign exchange banks in India. They finance the foreign trade of India by the purchase and discount

of foreign bills of exchange. They also do ordinary banking business. Joint-Stock banks are Indian and do mainly commercial banking work. There are also banks like co-operative and land mortgage banks engaged in providing credit facilities to agriculturists and like postal savings banks for deposits. But there are no special industrial banks for providing long term loans to large scale industries. Banking facilities in India are really very inadequate. At the end of 1933, there were only 219 banking head offices and 848 branch offices. The Imperial Bank of India which is under a statutory management is also largely controlled by European interests. All the savings and deposits of the country, public and private, are used by it largely in their interests.

The insurance companies which are also largely foreign use their large capital in foreign interests, and earn a profit of nearly 20 crores a year. Thus though there is a large amount of Indian commerce, foreign and internal, it is largely controlled by foreigners who make large profits in various ways. Indians lose heavily in shipping, railways, banking and insurance every year and contributes to a large extent to unemployment which prevails in the country.

Total exports and imports.—The total value of exports for 1936-37 was Rs. 196 crores which was Rs. 36 crores more than in 1935-36, and that of imports was Rs. 125 crores which was Rs. 9 crores less than in 1935-36. The surplus of exports over imports of private merchandise amounted to Rs. 77½ crores which was more than double the corresponding figure of Rs. 30½ crores for 1935-36. Trade and transport give occupation to only 8 p. c. of the population.

Causes of the growth of trade.—The main causes of the growth of trade were the establishment of greater contacts with foreign countries, of peace and order in the country and of improved and rapid means of communication and transport, the removal of internal customs barriers and transit duties, and the adoption of the policy of free trade. Britain holds a predominant position in our foreign trade, especially on the import side. In spite of her extensive land frontier India's overland trade is very limited owing to difficulties of transport and weakness of demand. The internal trade of India consists of coastal trade and inland trade. Her large extent and population, and her vast and varied resources and her developed means of communication and transport have largely increased it. It is estimated to be about Rs. 2,000 crores.

Government Department.—The Government of India organised a Commerce and Industry Department in 1905 and put it in charge of a member of the Executive Council. There is a Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics who looks after its working. Accurate and full information regarding foreign and inland markets and publicity regarding trade and production are necessary. But the commercial and the currency and exchange policy of the Government of India has not been at all beneficial to the development of Indian commerce and industrial enterprise. The deliberate manipulation and change of currency and exchange system have been disastrous to Indian economic prosperity. It has helped foreign interests. As a result India has become a debtor country. It is indebted to the extent of more than 1,200 crores of rupees. The debt is three-fourths productive and one-fourth non-productive. Its exports of articles or precious metals are more than her imports. It has to give more in order to meet the heavy cost of British administration, civil and military, the interest on debts incurred, pensions and allowances, and the enormous profits made by European merchants in industries and commerce. This excess is stated to amount annually more than 40 crores of rupees if we exclude the commercial and industrial profits which would come to about 100 crores more. This is the 'drain' which India suffers without any real compensation of industrial or commercial or political advance in return. It is largely impoverishing the people because their industrial and commercial life is in the hands and interests of foreigners, and they cannot satisfy their primary wants of life with the help of the poor and limited agriculture which they carry on for their subsistence. Poverty and indebtedness are the grim facts of Indian economic life. Every attempt to prove otherwise has only emphasized the facts in a new way. The state is largely responsible for this condition.

Travel and trade.—Travel and trade cannot develop and prosper unless there is a good system of transport, both the means of communication and of conveyance. Economic exchange and increase of human contact and culture depend on them. We must have therefore a well developed and well connected system of communication by land, water and air for our commercial prosperity and our people's intercourse between towns and villages and provinces. It will help greatly our agriculture and industry in exchanging their products with other parts and break our old economic and cultural isolation of territorial units. Our means of communica-

tion to-day are not adequate, well-connected or well-developed. Many parts of the country are outside the easy reach of other parts. Though some progress has been made since the time of Lord Dalhousie in building roads and railways, still we are very backward in this respect. We want a large number of good roads, railways and water transport to be spread over the country and make all its parts easily approachable.

Railways.—By the end of the year 1933-34 the total railway mileage open was 46,910 miles. The capital outlay on it is Rs. 884 crores. At present there is a Railway Rates Advisory Committee to investigate complaints of undue preference, high rates, lack of reasonable facilities to trade and to make recommendations to the government on these matters. But it has not been very helpful to Indian industries. It should aim at advancing the industries of the country. India has 2.2 miles of railway line per 1,000 square miles. It shows her backwardness.

Roads.—By the end of 1931-32 our total metalled road mileage stood at 264,512 miles and unmetalled at 1,89,971 miles. Many parts of India are very badly served for want of roads. We are greatly in need of more and better roads. Motor transport which is increasing rapidly and creating a revolution in rapid movement require better and broader roads. We want large number of big main roads and small feeder roads.

Water transport.—The importance of water transport in carrying inland trade has decreased since the development of railways. Inland water transport is possible in navigable rivers and canals to steam ships and small craft. The Indus, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and a few others are suitable all the year round and few others only to a certain distance.

Maritime transport.—India possesses an extensive coast line. The marine transport along it is a great economic asset. She has been a maritime country and had a flourishing shipping industry. Since the advent of British rule their iron-built steam ships and the rivalry and jealousy of British shipping interests and traders, Indian shipping and even control over her coastal trade got destroyed. The government's policy proved definitely apathetic and hostile, and thus a great source of economic occupation was lost to the country. Foreign shipping companies control the trade. Her large maritime business. India's share in the coastal trade varied resources are only 13 per cent and in the oceanic trade and transport have only 1 per cent. Foreign companies have been about Rs. 2,000 of cut-throat competition. They give

deferred rebates, that is, refund a certain part of the freight paid at the end of a certain period, provided the shipper does not send his goods by any other shipping concern. They also practice rate cutting and kill the work of new Indian companies in the coastal trade of India. The government has shown callous disregard of our national interests in not protecting national indigenous shipping. The Indian ship-building industry is practically dead.

The Indian Mercantile Committee (1923) which was appointed to consider the development of shipping and ship-building industry recommended the reservation of the coastal trade for ships controlled by Indians and showed that India possessed all the necessities for their development, namely, a long coast and necessary trade, resources, enterprise and skill. A bill for the reservation of coastal traffic for Indian shipping and for preventing deferred rates and rate wars in 1928 proved unsuccessful. The government of India has only provided a training ship for Indian cadets. But without the development of shipping and shipping industry they will remain unemployed.

6. PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Decay of rural life.—To-day this old order has changed. Government has undertaken to regulate all matters economic and political from the centre. It has destroyed the self-governing power of village and town panchayats, caste and guild panchayats. The villager has no vote in village matters. There is no real village panchayat. In towns a new sort of local self-government has arisen which is based on individual representation and not on guild representation, and is largely controlled by the central government. It has broken the old group life and sense of corporate responsibility and trustee-ship.

Decay of urban industrial life.—Old indigenous industries and trades have decayed under the stress of foreign competition and hence the guilds are also gone. There is no industry except that of a shopkeeper or a retail trader whose influence is very little in society. Foreigners have captured the trade and industries of the country, and the former skilled artisans and merchants have gradually become labourers on land or in mills wherever possible. The political influence which property gives and the personality which it creates are wanting. Indian towns are becoming dominated by government servants or professionals who are connected with the government machinery.

Capitalist system.—To-day the capitalistic system of society has changed the old order. Large-scale production and the

dominance of capital in the economic organisation and production have changed the old status order or fixity of society and brought in the contract order, the wages system, the perpetual flux of occupations and wealth, and the antagonism of the rich and poor in wealth, instead of that of the high and the low by birth.

There are to-day associations of employers and associations of workers or trade unions opposed to each other. Amongst them there are persons of all sorts and castes whose economic interest lund them for peace or war against their opponents in economic matters. There are also chambers of merchants which look after their economic interests as a whole and guard them with the help of political rights and representatives.

Landlord system.—A new element of economic relations between different persons arose when lands were freely and largely granted to a few persons by kings for their services in war or peace. These grants of lands or rights to revenue on land were also made for religious purposes. Hence developed a new system of economic relationship between the landlord and the tenant or cultivator. India is spread with such landholders called Jagirdars, Talukdars, Inamdars, and Devasthanams or Wakfs. This landed political and religious aristocracy has also influenced the economic life of the people and encroached upon their proprietary and political rights, and reduced them to slavery and poverty. This system developed a personal relation of lordship and dependence and not a true civic relation of a fellow-ship. A cultivator became the 'man' of his lord, and had to render exacting personal services and burdensome dues and fines. He was in a way tied to the soil and to the lord without any real personal or proprietary rights. Thus he got degraded economically and morally. His was a life of a serf or a slave and not of a free citizen. This system also led to unequal distribution of wealth and work amongst the people and has maintained the hereditary conception of property and and society upto to-day.

Caste system.—In the economic organisation of Indian society the caste system still plays a very large part. Change of occupation is not frequent. The high or low character of any occupation as determined by social tradition and conception also controls the development or progress of the economic life of India. Against all these odds India is to-day striving to create a modern economic society and organisation. The individual is free from caste, feudal or capitalistic restrictions and is able to follow economic pursuits. In that

society he is to be provided relief in case of unemployment, insurance in case of old age, sickness and infirmity and he is to be assured his right to work and to a minimum standard of civilised livelihood in case of his physical needs, such as food, clothing, housing, health and rest, and in those of his cultural needs, such as education, morals and arts. India lacks most of these necessities and lags behind other civilised countries very greatly.

✓ *The Problem of unemployment.*—In India the problem of unemployment is acute both in rural and urban areas. Rural unemployment is due to the pressure of increasing population on land and want of higher yield and of other resources from land or other occupations besides land. The land we have seen engages the cultivator only for a few months in the year and for the remaining months keeps him in enforced idleness for want of suitable supplementary occupations and of demand for their produce if any. Then there are aggravating causes of rural unemployment, such as periodical occurrence of scarcity or famine due to a partial or total failure of the rains. This destroys the very basis of their economic life. They do not possess any staying power having lost all subsidiary occupations and losing all purchasing power due to scarcity of work on land. It is not that there is food famine but want of purchasing power, that is, money famine. They want work and wages on an adequate scale. The people have become intensely poor and they cannot face or tide over the smallest disturbance of their normal economic life. We have discussed elsewhere the main causes of the great poverty of the rural people and also suggested some measures for its amelioration, and for increasing their economic strength and staying power. There are nearly four crores of rural unemployed.

The government has tried to meet famine, unemployment by creating Famine Insurance Fund (1878) for famine relief. It is spent on direct relief, or on the construction of public works of a protective nature. The present system of famine relief is based on the recommendations of the Famine Commission (1880) It recommended (1) provision of work to the able-bodied at a wage sufficient to secure health but not ordinary comforts, (2) gratuitous relief to the infirm in their own villages or poor houses, (3) assistance to the landowning classes in the form of Takavi loans and (4) suspension and remission of land revenue. Famine codes embodying these principles were compiled in every province. The Famine Commission of 1901 emphasized the need for putting heart into the people by giving loans and

Takavi grants, for early suspension of land revenue, for large and elastic plans of relief etc. Famine relief now consists chiefly in providing work and paying wages for it in order to enable those who seek relief to buy sufficient food. The object of the Famine Relief Fund is to provide for expenditure on famine relief proper.

In occupations and industries other than agriculture there are manual workers of the labouring class and intellectual workers of the middle class. Along with the gradual growth of the industrial working class which has got disconnected with land occupation, there is also growing a great amount of unemployment amongst them, owing to failure or decrease of large industries or want of growth in them which are unable to absorb the labourer thrown off the land and taking to labour in large scale or other industries. Our industrial development is small and not progressing because of keen foreign competition. There is also unemployment amongst artisans and workers in old manual industries. There is a decline in demand for their products owing to foreign competition and to new tastes and fashions. They are losing their old occupations and do not find new avenues of work to eke out their living.

The problem of unemployment is also very keen among educated or middle class. They are more or less engaged in non-manual or intellectual occupations. During recent years unemployment in this class has increased enormously throughout India. Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the U. P. and the Punjab, Travancore and Behar unemployment inquiry committees (1924-1936) have carefully studied this problem and suggested some palliative remedies. There are more educated than required to fill the limited posts and occupations available for them in government departments or in commercial or business firms or in professional work.

✓ *Causes of unemployment.*—The causes of unemployment are want of a growing variety and a number of occupations along with the growth in education amongst middle classes. The education given also is largely literary and not suited to the needs of industrial advance. Clerical occupations and government posts or teaching posts are limited and they cannot employ all the products of arts colleges and schools. The problem is aggravated by those who leave their ancestral occupations of agriculture, arts, crafts and industries and crowd the ranks of the educated unemployed after receiving similar literary education. But there are no suitable and sufficient facilities

for vocational and technical education in the domain of agriculture, industry, commerce and engineering. The country is also not economically advanced. It is very poor in the growth of industries and commerce. There is a lot of foreign control and vested interest in these branches of economic life. A large number of avenues of employment are not open in higher services in the military, naval and civil branches of the government. Technical training and economic advance must go together. They are interdependent in their nature. Each helps the other. There is a great need for economic progress in India. It is very much economically underdeveloped. The people of the country should fully control and manage its economic development. Then only there will be a check to unemployment and poverty. Fresh avenues of employment should be created by economic betterment. And the higher services should all be Indianised. There must be further a change in our economic, social and educational outlook which will help the rise of initiative, enterprise, invention and organising capacity amongst us.

Thus the causes of unemployment are—

✓1. A progressive economic deterioration due to the increasing pressure of population on the soil.

✓2. The importation of machine made goods into the countryside gradually driving the village artisan from his hereditary occupation and thereby accentuating general unemployment or rather underemployment in rural areas.

✓3. An increasing number of men leaving rural areas and flocking to towns, although the scope for their employment is limited.

✓4. The marked fall in the price of agricultural produce affecting all classes—lawyers, doctors, traders and even the village money-lenders.

5. The defective system of education creating a mal-adjustment between supply and demand.

Its remedies.—Indian economic policy requires a conscious planning on a national scale in which the interests of the Indian people will alone be considered. Unless this change takes place the problem of unemployment is going to be increasingly serious in proportion. Poverty leads to physical deterioration, and discontent leads to mental and moral degeneration. Due to lowering of vitality there is an increase in mortality and diseases and a general inefficiency of the body

and energy of the people. Due to increase of discontent there is a general social and political discontent. The people have begun to examine the values and systems of social and political life prevalent in the country. Therefore though the problem of unemployment is economic it needs a revolution in the economic, political, financial and educational policy of the government of the country. Unless there is an economic uplift of the agricultural classes, a development of large scale industries to supply our own needs and also of small scale and cottage industries, an expansion of existing professions and callings by increase in the purchasing power of the people, and a reform of our educational system to suit these, the problem of unemployment cannot be easily solved. These remedies are not easy to be adopted. There can be no lasting solution of the unemployed problem without industrial development, but this requires the co-ordinated efforts of local governments and the government of India in such vital factors as currency, tariff, railway freight, which are under the control of the latter. For developing the larger industries governments should themselves start demonstration of pioneer factories with the help of experts. State aid should be granted liberally to finance educated young men in setting up cottage and small industries and in organising the manufacture and marketing of the products of cottage workers. Appropriate action should be taken by governments to protect nascent industries from unfair competition.

Distribution of population according to occupations in percentage (1931 census).

<i>Occupations.</i>		<i>per cent.</i>
1. Exploitation of animals and vegetation.	..	67.00
2. Exploitation of minerals	..	.10
3. Industry	..	9.70
4. Transport	..	1.50
5. Trade	..	5.40
6. Public Force	..	.50
7. Public Administration	..	.80
8. Professions and liberal arts	..	1.70
9. Persons living on their income	..	.14
10. Domestic Service	..	7.06
11. Insufficiently described occupations	...	5.05
12. Unproductive	..	1.05

The proportion of actual workers to non-working dependents in India in 1931 was 44:56 as compared to 46:54 in 1921. This shows a steady decrease of workers in proportion to dependents and indicates the growing unemployment in the country.

In 1921 there were 291 agricultural labourers per 1,000 cultivators. In 1931 they are 407. The percentage of population dependent on agriculture is thus increasing and their livelihood from industry is steadily decreasing. There is no perceptible increase in any other occupation. The organised industries support only 1.59 per cent of the population. The growth of landless labourers is very great. Agriculture supports three fourths of the population in India, 11.6 per cent in Great Britain and Ireland, 28.6 per cent in Germany, 40.7 per cent in France and 26.3 per cent in the U. S. A.

CHAPTER XI.

Our Civic Life.

1. OUR NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

"I know no limitations to the aspirations of my countrymen"
Gokhale

"Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it."
Tilak.

"Democracy arises out of the notion that those who are equal in any respect are equal in all respects, because men are equally free, they claim to be absolutely equal."

Aristotle.

British rule.—The British system of government in India is the result partly of conquest, partly of imitation and partly of English tradition and creation. As the conquerors of India their rule is an imposition and a despotism, as the successors to old sovereigns it is irresponsible and absolute, and as the representatives of British ideas of constitutional freedom and form of government it is to-day an experiment in dyarchy or a condominium of the British and Indian elements based on representatives ideas. The idea of a government fully responsible to the people is not as yet practised.

Autocratic and bureaucratic policy.—The government of British India is largely autocratic. The supreme power vests in the Viceroy and the Secretary of State who are responsible to the British Parliament. Its organisation is bureaucratic and is in the hands of a Civil Service, members of which are appointed, controlled, and regulated by the Secretary of State. The British Parliament is the ultimate sovereign in Indian matters. There is no representative of India in it, nor is it responsible and responsive to Indian public opinion. There is no Indian control over India. The Governor General is not finally bound by the resolutions of the new Indian Legislature. They are recommendatory not mandatory. He can override it in all matters. Similarly the Governors of Provinces possess unlimited powers in certain provincial matters. They can pass laws not approved by provincial legislatures.

Rule of the Executive dominates.—There is no real democracy of government in India. It is the rule of the executive.

The final and the certifying and overriding power is in its hands. The British have however differentiated, organised and developed the technique of every-day administration, of the forms of various laws and legal and judicial procedure, of service regulations, of departmental relations, and of many other items. It is a well-organised, well-differentiated and well-controlled bureaucracy with duties, functions, and rights properly laid down. But it is still a foreign government and not a national government primarily and wholly worked in people's interests.

State function in modern times.—In modern times we note that it has become a recognised function of the government to develop the material and physical, moral and mental welfare of the people, because it has usurped or there have fallen upon it the functions of other social, religious, and educational groups of the community. State, though primarily it is the community organised for political purposes, has become an organisation dominant and directive in all social purposes. The social and welfare activities of the State are expressed in its industrial, social and educational legislation, and are carried out by its ministrant departments of Industry, Commerce and Communication, Agriculture and Irrigation, Education and Public Health and others. That the government is responsible for the welfare of the people is an accepted maxim, and England, France, Germany and Japan have followed a State aid and protection policy from the latter half of the nineteenth century, and have brought their countries to a higher level of culture, material prosperity, and scientific advance. Conscious regulation of the life of the people and the protection and promotion of their interests by its laws and executive departments have become the watchwords of state's duties. The interests of the government and the people are now considered and developed under democratic organisations. But in India the political problem is complicated.

Foreign rule not tolerated in the modern world.—The present political life of the Indian people moulds itself and rests on the fact of the foreign rule in the country. All the movements and aspirations are directed against the evils and interests created by it. Modern world does not tolerate foreign rule. It believes in the self-determination of peoples. Foreign rule has never proved a blessing in the end. It is a rule in the interests of the few primarily, and it stunts the growth and prevents the application of indigenous talent to problems of national power and freedom. Its ideas and interests are contrary to those of the ruled. It is an authoritarian order and an imposition. It

is hardly an encouraging agency and an impetus to freedom. In its conflict and contact with the people it may awaken them from lethargy and generate indirectly forces which would help them to unite, to remove internal evils, to adjust internal relations and to create a spirit of co-operation. But the character of the people as a whole suffers and deteriorates when the government follows the policy of divide and rule, protects its own economic interests primarily, does not associate fully the people in the affairs of government and is not responsible to them.

Awakening of the people.—Realisation of this fact came late in the minds of the people. The fundamental defect and the detrimental effect of the foreign rule in India came to be realised in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Then the educated people began to associate in small groups, to think about it and to find out remedies against it or to minimise its effects by proposing changes and reforms. At this point of time constitutional agitation began in the country. But the movement was not merely political. It was also a religious, social, economic and educational revival and renaissance when men's thoughts turned inwards and towards themselves. In trying to find the root causes of the country's political fall, all the aspects of its life were examined. Its social ideas and forms, its religious beliefs and rituals, its industrial position and progress, its educational strength and advance, all came to be noted and studied, and their faults or unsuitability were pointed out, and reforms and ideas were suggested and worked for. In this pursuit and struggle lay the birth of the new freedom and the decay of the old superstition, and the opportunity of human service and the strength of personality and indigenous power. No doubt, in the way of success of this national reform movement, difficulties of environment, old and new, traditional and vested, were very great, but these had to be opposed and overcome.

Effects of the foreign rule.—Foreign rule has created a mercenary army and police, new privileged classes and vested interests, whose loyalty to the new masters is steadfast being based on selfish interests. Moreover, classes which were hitherto non-political in revenge for their old grudges about social status, and those communities who were converted to or belonged to foreign religious faiths in their hatred, antagonism or fear of indigenous faiths, sided with and supported the new masters from whom they expected and got special communal rights and privileges. Additional difficulties were created by foreign, military and civil servants, capitalists, industrialists, merchants,

planters, and bankers who were intensely interested in the maintenance of the new political order in the country which made their livelihood, industry, trade and plantation easily possible and extremely profitable. Any movement towards the political freedom of the country had the potentiality of the loss of these concerns and profits. India for the Indians would not be a welcome cry to them. It meant a new competition and restriction, and a national system of indigenous protection. Under these difficulties and protests the new national movement had to work. Moreover the ignorance and apathy of masses born out of medieval conditions of life and society, and the exclusive religious and orthodox outlook of fatalism were very discouraging features of the Indian mentality and society. Its division into groups and units not properly balanced and harmonised has been a great obstacle in her national solidarity and strength, and in her every great forward movement.

Foreign rule may be sometimes of indirect good if it is carried on solely and wholly in the interests of the governed. Such a rule if possible may be termed as an aristocratic rule in the words of Aristotle, that is, the rule of the few able in the interests of many. But such a thing is generally not possible. Foreigners by their rule and stay create vested interests in public services and offices, in industrial and commercial concerns and undertakings, in agricultural settlements and plantations, in religious institutions and conversions, and in social and racial cross-breeds. There is no conquest of a country done in the interests of that country. It is primarily the political ambition or economic interests which are the actuating or compelling motive. The human benevolence or the so-called divine trustee-ship of the foreign rule breaks on the rock of vested interests and political glory and ambition, and is falsified by history. Where foreigners have got mixed up and amalgamated socially with the indigenous population, there only any new virtues and practices brought in by conquerors have done good to the conquered. Two antagonistic interests cannot create a new and good life. In this there is a dominance of one race and the dwarfing of another. There is hardly any rejoicing together, any common aspiration or spirit. Hence no coalition and coalescence are possible. On the contrary new disturbing and eccentric groups and units are created within the national organism and they refuse to amalgamate because of their selfish or eccentric hopes and ideas, and are permanent parasitic sores in the body politic.

It may be noted that in India there is no identity of interests but there is a natural antithesis between the ruler and the ruled. The economic interests of both clash, and the political needs and aspirations of both differ. One deprecates the civilisation and the social life of the other, and considers it incapable of enjoying or creating political freedom and free political institutions. One calls the East unchangeable and the West alone progressive. Under such a position and view-point the wishes and the wisdom of the people alone have to be respected. There is no right to foreign rule in the world, but there is one to self-government.

The early pioneers.—The rise of a new national movement requires a mental and moral awakening of the people which gives strength to their convictions and ardour to their struggles. The conscience of man must awaken against the surrounding ills. His liberty of conscience must assert itself in his immediate environment and thus create by his utterances, work and sufferings, a working ideal for others to follow. Such an awakening or divine discontent with the existing order took place in the minds of some great personalities in the very beginning of the nineteenth century in India. This discontent from within was preached and practised either in the shape of reform, revival or revolution. It gained admirers and followers, and they began to work and to organise for achieving their ideas in the respective spheres of life they undertook to mould or to change. The early awakening was religious and social. The religious awakening, revival and reform were largely due to the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Rai, Swami Ramkrishna Paramahansa, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Theosophists, their associates and a number of others. This awakening also promoted and helped largely the social and educational awakening.

The social reform movement was largely fostered by Raja Ram Mohan Rai, Swami Dayanand, Justice Ranade, and a number of others. The industrial revolution was pioneered by Mr. J. N. Tata and others and encouraged by the Swadeshi movement. There were a host of other persons whose names cannot be easily enumerated here and who by their example and silent work awakened their localities, communities, castes and sects to a new sense of national value, a large expanding outlook, and higher principles of individual, social and spiritual freedom.

Influence of British conquest.—The British conquest of India made her come in contact with western culture, institu-

tions and outlook. It let in forces in the country which began to attack and to revolutionise our material, moral, cultural, religious and intellectual ideas and the apparatus of our customs and institutions. Under its influence India began to pass through an age of resentment, reaction and opposition on one side and that of renaissance, reformation, counter-reformation, enlightenment, revolution and reconstruction on the other. In the 19th century we see as a consequence five revolutions, political, economic, cultural, religious and social, working in our life and thought. These led gradually to the rise of a number of national leaders and schools of thought and actions in our country which in turn have further developed into national parties with their policies and programmes of work.

Periods of history.—In order to understand their rise, growth and aims we must divide the history of India from 1815 to 1935 into a number of eras and periods. From 1815 when Raja Ram Mohan Roy retired from service and took his residence in Calcutta and became the centre, leader and pioneer of all reformatory activities in India to 1935 when the Government of India Act was passed, uniting the whole of India into some sort of political federation, we can roughly mark two eras—the pre-Congress era of 1815-1885 and the Congress era of 1885-1935. The pre-Congress era evolved and laid down most of the ideas and methods which were worked out and followed on an All-India scale in the early history of the Congress era. It may be further divided into the period of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's pioneer activities from 1815 to 1830, into that of his associates and followers in Bengal and of similar activities in Bombay and Madras from 1831 to 1861, into that of their successors and admirers in all parts of India from 1861 to 1885.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy.—Raja's personality and period (1815-1830) ushered a new current in our thought and a new age in our history. He revalued our old culture, institutions and outlook in the light of the new and created a longing for change and freedom among kindred spirits. The medieval mind, society and polity of India had failed to unite India, and to protect her and to make her progress. Raja's personality, outlook and agitation freed the Indian its mind from its moorings in the past and gave it scope for present work and development and hope for future greatness. He gathered round himself men of great intellectual and moral worth and carried on his propaganda amongst the people by conversation and discussion, by writing and publication, by forming associations and by establishing schools of education and culture. He thus roused, prepared

and convinced the people. Then he persuaded the government by representations, deputations, appeals, petitions, memorials and protests to take initiative in the matter of educational, administrative and social reform and in granting civil rights of freedom of speech and press and of equality in the eye of law and administration. His own work in the cause of education, social and religious reform, intellectual awakening and creating consciousness of civil and political rights is well known.

Founder of liberal school.—He is also the founder of rational and liberal school of thought in India. He was for the regeneration of India. He was for a constitutional government under the British rule. He was a great constitutionalist. He believed in its political institutions and claimed the rights of British citizenship. He was not for political independence. He declared that Indians were fortunately placed by Providence under the protection of the whole British nation and that they would be secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges of the British. He therefore demanded only a remedy of specific grievances through constitutional agitation and the civil rights and political institutions of the British. He pressed for a codification of law, separation of powers, independence of judges, jury system, Habeas Corpus procedure, legal responsibility of officials, equality before the law and in administration, freedom of person, property and opinion. He was for a rule of law and constitutional government. He believed in the inter-dependence of social, religious, intellectual and political reform and gave an important role to the state in it. He accepted the modern conception of state as interpreted and advocated by Montesquieu, Blackstone and Burke and developed by the British constitution. He belonged to the conservative liberal school of political thought where state and its laws and institutions were sacred, and not to the 'natural rights' radical school of Rousseau and Paine where the rights of man to freedom and equality were more emphasized. Bentham also influenced his thought and outlook in the matter of state's functions. He did not claim freedom as birthright nor appeal to any theory of natural rights. He only demanded the same guarantees of civil liberty as possessed by Englishmen. He never thought of demanding political liberty of India and her peoples as they did not possess public spirit and democratic character, but on the contrary they were ignorant, superstitious and corrupt. To him there was no problem of self-government or autonomy for India but the recognition of the principles of rights, that is, justice and security of life, liberty, opinion

and property of citizens. He wanted that laws for India should be made by the King-in-Parliament, and not by the Government of India. His was loyalty to Great Britain and her political constitution and sense of justice and not to the sweet will of governors and governor-general of India. He protested against giving legislative power to them as they would be prejudiced persons, being on the spot. In no case he would agree to the final authority being vested in the Indian government. For the gathering of Indian opinion about reforms he advocated a free press, commissions of inquiry, and consultation with the intellect and aristocracy of the land.

The Raja's constitutional and liberal school of thought has been the most prominent school in the 19th century in India. It developed and gathered strength under his associates and disciples such as Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Dwarkanath Tagore. But it was not the only school of thought. There were two other schools, one conservative or loyalist and the other radical.

Conservative school.—The conservatives were feudalists and orthodox and were more attached to the existing order of polity, religion and society and were against any rational, liberal or democratic reforms. They cared for the security of their own hereditary privileges and vested interests, and believed in passive obedience to the powers that be, which they considered as divinely ordained.

Radical school.—The radical school was influenced by the doctrines of natural rights of Rousseau and Paine and the French revolution, and also by those of the individualist school of Bentham and Adam Smith. They wanted liberty and equality in every sphere of life, social, religious and political. They were greatly patriotic and wanted a revolution in India. They established a number of societies and magazines for the spread of their radical ideas. They even discussed the evils of subjection to foreign rule, such as economic poverty and corruption of character. They advocated organisation of public opinion, Indianisation of services and share in places of trust and emolument. They were for representative legislatures in India, and for the state undertaking social, religious and other reforms in India. The state was to remove obstacles to freedom and to help progress as the philosophical radicals advocated. They would have universal suffrage. They were students of the Hindu College.

The radicals believed in natural rights of man and the liberals in the rights of British citizens. To the radicals the

British connection and rule was not natural. To the liberals it was a divine dispensation. The radicals would ultimately look to complete independence. The liberals would for ever maintain the British connection and would like equal partnership.

Liberal School. But the Liberal school proved to be stronger as there were no conditions favourable for the development of radical doctrines in India, both in society and polity during the 19th century. From 1831 to 1861 it championed the cause of the landlords as well as of the rayats through press and political associations. They pressed for the rights and duties of citizens. They advocated reforms in various branches of local and central administration and changes in the nature of political institutions on British model. There was a constitutional agitation. They founded the British Indian Association on 31-10-1851 to represent their aims and to work for their interests.

From 1861 to 1881 Kristo Das Pal and the 'Hindu patriot' represent the Liberal school. Its faith in the British rule of law and the British sense of justice continued undiminished. It continued to demand British civil rights, laws and institutions, and requested the government to undertake social reform. Except that it had become more organised and more active there was no change in its ideology. Its moral vigour and its utterances got strengthened after the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the assumption of direct government by the crown. The Proclamation was hailed as 'magna charta' since it promised to respect the sanctity of laws and treaties and to extend equal rights of citizenship. Indians were recognised as entitled to the equal and impartial protection of law, and to be freely and impartially admitted to office in service. Though they carried on a systematic expression of their criticism of government measures in the press and in the meetings of their associations, their motto was caution and moderation.

Liberal school in Maharashtra.—In Maharashtra also we see the development of a new liberal outlook after the fall of the Peshwas in 1818. The Sardars, Jagirdars and others gave an address to Elphinstone saying 'it was well that you have taken the kingdom.' They liked the just behaviour of the English. But they were for their own rights and not for civil and political rights. They were conservative or orthodox or feudalist. In Bombay, however, really arose the Liberal school of Maharashtra. Bombay was under the British for a long time. The people had come to like the British system of government and justice, just as in Calcutta. They imbibed the new

spirit of administration and education under which they were living and came to admire and respect British ideas and ways of life. Men like Nana Shankerset (1803-1865), Bal Shastri Jambhekar (1810-1846) who studied nine languages and a number of subjects, Dadoba Pandurang (1814-1882) and Sardar Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823-1892) were liberal in outlook and wanted rational changes and reforms in social, religious and educational matters. They discussed various problems affecting all aspects of life in their writings and utterances. They believed in the rule of the British as a divine dispensation. They condemned Indian society for its corruption, superstition, ignorance and want of character. They believed that God had appointed the British as their gurus for removing their evils and for promoting their welfare. Still they criticised a number of their measures, attacked their heavy taxes etc. Amongst them Gopal Hari Deshmukh showed a greater grasp of the realities and resembled Raja Ram Mohan Roy in his utterances to a large extent. He asked for parliamentary representation. He believed in the equality of natives and Europeans. He believed in democracy ultimately to be achieved gradually. He was a rationalist but a liberal patriot. He advocated Swadeshi as foreign goods were reducing people to poverty. He was also for boycott. He wanted the people to possess civil rights and to agitate for them. He was against untouchability and for a number of social reforms. In Poona we find Jotiba Fuley (1828) a gardner by caste developing as a radical social reformer who was against caste and other social evils. He founded a Satya Shodhak Samaja to agitate for and to assert the rights of social and religious equality in the Hindu society and a civic equality in the public life. In Vishnu-boa Brahmachari (1825-71) who was a great antagonist of Christian missionaries and at the same time desired social and other progress we find tendencies and ideals of a utopian socialist—a very remarkable phenomena for the period.

Ranade.—The Liberal school preceded the Nationalist school in Maharashtra, and its chief representative from 1861 to 1901 was Mr. M. G. Ranade (1842-1901) who in spite of his being in government service laid the foundation of liberal thought in western India in his writings, speeches and personal advice and lead. He had a number of associates and disciples who imbibed his spirit and carried on his work. Amongst them were men like K. T. Telang, N. G. Chandavarkar, R. G. Bhandarkar and later on G. K. Gokhale.

Ranade wanted all-sided reform and advocated state legislation for it. He believed in the divine dispensation of British

rule in India. He guided the activities of the Sarvajanic Sabha which was established in 1871 by G. V. Joshi, (1828-1880). On its behalf he petitioned to Parliament in 1874 for representative government. He made representations for redress of grievances in economic and political matters to government. He was for constitutional methods of agitation and for realising political advance gradually. His idea of reform was based on conceptions of reason and justice, but he also took historical forces into consideration.

Radical school.—A radical type of social and religious reformer was Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856-1895). He was a great rationalist. He attacked very vehemently in his writings the superstitions and injustices of the Hindu society and awakened it to its wrongs and evils. At first he was the associate of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Later on they parted company.

Nationalist school.—The Nationalist school arose in Poona under the inspiration of old traditions and new contacts. Vishnushastri Chiplunkar (1850-1882), G. V. Joshi (1828-1880) and later B. G. Tilak (1856-1920) were its chief representatives. Though they recognised the benefits of the British rule in the matter of peace, order and law, and the new cultural contacts and inspirations, they emphasized more its evil effects on national character and civilisation. They believed in the greatness of their culture and historical tradition and asserted the natural and national rights of the people. They worked for the people's welfare, aroused their political and cultural consciousness, carried on agitation for their full civil and political rights. Tilak gave impetus to a more vigorous nationalism by his writings in *Kesari* and by the organisation of Ganapati (in 1892) and Shivaji (in 1894) festivals.

The Nationalist school rose more or less in the 60s of the 19th century. Some of the leaders were despairing of the moderate methods and their faith in British sense of justice. In Europe the ideals of Fichte and Mazzini and the nationalist movements were dominant. National unity, political rights and liberation from foreign yoke or interference were the aims for which Germans, Italians, Hungarians and Balkans were striving.

There were also other forces which led to nationalist agitation. Under the influence of religious revival and cultural renaissance there was a reaction against western culture. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda reestablished the faith of the people in their own religions. The researches of oriental scholars brought forth and

reinterpreted the treasures of Indian culture and learning and created a sense of greatness in their past achievements. English education and European culture were awakening the minds of the people to national ambitions and inspiring them to national endeavour. The developed means of communication and a common medium brought leading spirits into contact with one another, and promoted a feeling of unity and common aspirations. There was economic discontent due to increasing poverty resulting from British economic exploitation. The arrogant behaviour of Britishers was also contributing to the creation of national discontent. Indians were not getting their due share in the government of the country in spite of 1833 and 1853 Acts and 1858 Proclamation, and other declarations. The feeling of India of the Indians and for the Indians consequently developed.

Nationalist school in Bengal.—In Bengal Sishir Kumar Ghose (1840-1911) and his *Amrita Bazar Patrika* are the definite pioneers of national mentality and methods. The British system of administration was severely criticised and attacked in the press and on the platform and there was shown no faith in the divine dispensation of British rule in India. The adherents of this school believed in natural rights of citizenship and self-government. They did not fail to point out boldly the evils of foreign rule and the advantages of self-rule. Their outlook was different from that of the liberals who were moderate in tone and expression and were loyal to British Empire and citizenship. They had more respect for national feeling and outlook.

The nationalists and liberals however were both democrats. They were for democratic principles in political rights and not for feudal privileges. If Sishir Kumar Ghose represented national outlook and method, Kristo Das Pal (1838-1884) represented advanced liberal views. He believed not merely in petitioning, but extorting by agitation. He was the editor of the *Hindu Patriot* and aimed at the progressive realisation of self-government on colonial lines for India.

Writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-1894) also helped the awakening of national consciousness. Nationalists protested against the monopoly of government and citizenship by Britishers on the ground of their own fundamental rights. They could not tolerate political and civic inequality and economic iniquity. But they were against the government interfering in social and religious aspects of our life. Unlike the liberals they did not advocate social and religious reform by British legislation.

The early associations.—All these persons and their early struggles created a basis and a background for the rise of a higher political and national or human consciousness. Political facts were making political awakening possible in different parts of the country. In 1876 the Indian Association was started at Calcutta with the object of organising a system of active political propaganda throughout the country and rousing the people to a sense of political unity and joint activity. Its organ was 'Bengali.' It was backed by the educated classes. Surendra Nath Banerji was its moving and guiding spirit. The Delhi Darbar of 1877 created and strengthened a feeling of unity and constitutional agitation to check the autocratic rule in India. In 1877 he organised an all-India protest against the lowering of the age limit for entrance into the Indian Civil Service from 21 to 19 by uniting all the provinces "through a sense of common grievance and the inspiration of a common resolve." With this aim in view he made two tours, one in Northern India (1877) and the other in Southern and Western India (1878). The result of his campaign was that an All-India memorial was drafted for raising the age for the open competitive examination to 22 years and for holding simultaneous examination in India and was sent to the House of Commons. It was the first step in an All-India constitutional agitation by an All-India leader. The starting of the National League in Bengal in 1884, the Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1884 and the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885 was the sign of the times. The controversies over the Ilbert Bill (1883) brought the fundamental fact and policy of the British rule in India to the forefront. The antithesis between the interests of the ruling class and the ruled was evident everywhere. India must unite in order to speak for itself and to assert itself.

The early forces of unity.—Indian history shows that India was tried to be united religiously, socially, culturally and politically by her great saints, reformers, scholars, teachers and rulers. But though their attempts succeeded to a large extent in having created larger human groups and territorial units, the religious, social, cultural and political forces were not sufficient in maintaining her national unity in political matters. The ambition of her kings and the ambition of her invaders divided her politically, religiously and culturally into changing groups struggling with one another and against the invader, though during the time of the Maurya and Mogul Emperors, there was a larger political unity in India. These failed because of their later weaknesses or religious rivalries. Even under the British

rule there is no political unity of India. Many native states are quasi-independent and claim full independence. nearly a half of India is not directly ruled by the British. But the conditions for the rise of national consciousness and the awakening of the people are better to-day than they were before because of the world-currents of democracy and nationalism. These ideals and movements combined with the grievances resulting from various political disabilities, economic ills and educational backwardness have brought together thinking Indians and the masses first to protest against the political power of the country held responsible for their existing grievances and secondly to work for their removal. Thus there is an internal force which wants to reform and progress, and an external pressure which compels to unite and to protest or to fight.

A new force.—The nineteenth century in India was the age of Indian Renaissance and Reformation. New values and ideals were preached and practised by a succession of great thinkers and leaders. The mind of India renewed itself under the impact of Western civilisation and the hard and humiliating knocks of English rule. The old meek attitude had to be given up. A new vigorous and defensive as well as aggressive attitude had to be taken up in order to save oneself and one's nation from the overflowing of Western currents.

The first step : The Indian National Congress.—The first step is always difficult to take because it is new and not sure of its ground and future policy. The formation of the Indian National Congress was this first step of Indians. Historically it manifested the natural growing desires of the people and was the expression of the underlying currents and the developing forces of the country. The history of the Indian National Congress then is largely the history of the origin and growth of national sentiment and life in India. It focussed at one centre all the forces and the personalities working for the progress and emancipation of the country. We had before local and class associations, communal and sect organisations, but national dissociation. Congress however fostered and formed a public opinion without which there could be no consciousness of national self and therefore no self-government. The Congress movement linked town with town, district with district, province with province, class with class, and community with community. The dissociation of a medieval type of life was brought to an end. The personal contact and intercourse of these representatives created a feeling and consciousness of identity of interests and aspirations and they began to show "*Idem sentire de republica*," to feel

the same about the commonwealth, and made various classes and personalities to merge their social distinctions and personal idiosyncracies in common political action and national aspiration.

The early local and provincial associations and attempts.—The local and provincial associations which made the later development of a national organisation possible by their common outlook were such as the British Indian Association of zamindars in Bengal (1851), the Bombay Association (1851), the Sarvajanic Sabha in Poona (1872), and also great personalities, like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerji, Ranade, working in their own way and trying to solve individual problems. They now and then criticised the government, but did not attack the very conception of foreign rule in India. Their ideas were vague about the political future of India. Their methods were also not settled or effective, nor had they a systematic programme. There was not developed even an idea of a united nationality. But their local and provincial efforts showed the similarity of India's ills and needs in political and economic matters, and also to a certain extent in religious and social matters. Before the Congress work began this state of affairs was realised by very few. They felt intensely, but could not act vigorously in a sea and atmosphere of apathy surrounding them. The public had to be educated. The earlier associations and leaders did this to a certain extent locally, but the awakening of the people on a national scale was possible only when national representatives met together in one place with the conscious idea of being the members of a common country and the aspirants of a common future. Unless every policy adopted was conceived to apply to the country as a whole, there could not be a feeling of one nationality. Thus Indian National Congress arose to solve the political and national needs of India.

A national mentality.—The followers of the Congress or the men of national mentality rising above class interests, political apathy and extra-territoriality and religious communalism increased rapidly under the pressure of public grievances economic and political, the force of new ideas and education, and the influence of great personalities.

The promoters of the National Movement.—There were Parliamentary Englishmen like Burke, Bright, Bradlaugh and Besant and there were English civil servants and merchants like Hume, Cotton and Wedderburn, Digby and Yule who realised and pointed out the effects of foreign rule and the sufferings and grievances of the people, and helped them to give vent to

them and to protest against them in various ways. With their backing and example Indian leaders came forward to ventilate their thoughts on the Indian situation and to work for their country's good. They organised lectures, press campaigns and conferences. These methods of public speaking, public writing and public meeting strengthened the movement for the awakening of the people, and made them aware of public life and problems which a conquered and modern nation must solve.

Rise of different political schools.—But amongst these English friends and Indian leaders arose a number of schools of thought or parties whose ends and methods differed. In the beginning the differences were not realised nor acute but later on when experience and understanding developed and all the phases of the various public problems were realised, the loyalist, the conservative, the liberal and the radical or revolutionary mentalities could not agree with one another or pull on together.

The Loyalist :—Loyalists said that the government knew what was best for the people and that they must quietly obey and do what was told.

The Conservative :—Conservatives and constitutionalists said that there were grievances of the people which might be made known to the government in forms of petitions, resolutions and deputations, and the government would then be touched, and would give what they desired and deserved but that they must wait till then.

The Liberal :—The third school of liberals or moderates believed in agitation in the country and emphatic protests against wrongs done to or bad laws imposed upon India politically and economically. They had a national consciousness but no national organisation or urge or feeling of strength behind them. They waited for events to develop or for good sense in rulers to come. They demanded and pressed for a share in the government of the country and for some forms of political opportunity to the people by writing in the press, or speaking in the legislative councils, and on the platform. This school was confined to a few educated persons in the country whose motto was caution and moderation, and intellectual fight. Any change which contemplated disorder they abhorred. India being inhabited by many races with conflicting conceptions and ideals was not, they thought, fit for any sudden change or disorder. It must move slowly but surely. There should be discontent but no disorder, reform or revival but no revolution. They took part in awakening the people to their ills and causes

of those ills, and educated them about the affairs of the country and about the government which was responsible for them.

The Nationalist.—This passive attitude and programme of the liberals could not suit or attract active minds who believed in strong methods and programmes. They believed in emphasizing the ultimate demand and in resorting to active or direct methods. They spread strong discontent amongst the people and dis-affection against the government. They broke some laws and suffered. They did not resent even revolutionary methods. They wanted to mould events and to break the bounds of law which were harassing and narrow. They did not feel any faith in the promises and declarations of the government. It was only the strong discontent and resentment of the people, they believed, that would make the government yield and reform itself. Co-operation with the government was not their creed nor was non-cooperation accepted by them as a programme. They expressed their ideals in the words 'Swaraj,' 'Swadeshi,' 'National Education,' and 'Boycott.' It was essentially to be a movement of the people constructed and carried on by them. Their hope rested on the work of the people. If the government gave anything, it was to be utilised, but a constant struggle was to be carried on in which people were to be trained and the government to be opposed. This school termed itself as the 'Nationalist school' and was also known as 'the Extremist school.' Out of this school arose later two schools, one of complete non-cooperation and the other of responsive co-operation.

The Non-cooperator :—Non-cooperators considered the existing system of government as a great evil and therefore no one was to cooperate with it in any way, and they adopted the method of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes as the legitimate weapons of political struggle. They concentrated on constructive programme of work which they believed would strengthen the national movement and meet the national needs. They believed in non-violence and suffering without retaliation for the cause they undertook as the most efficacious method against a government which was well organised and well armed. They would not associate with the government in any way especially in the legislative councils, public services, and educational institutions.

The Responsive Co-operator :—The other school of responsive operators believed in part obstruction and in part association. Good were possible to be done by association or

obstruction within the councils, offices or educational institutions it was to be done. They did not believe in keeping away from these public bodies which would function and do harm if left alone. They could not be destroyed in view of the conditions in the country and the character of the people, and therefore they must be stopped from functioning or prevented from mischief or utilised or improved if they at all could be. But struggle and opposition was to be carried on there, and an attempt was to be made to meet the bureaucracy at all points of advantage or struggle.

The Revolutionist.—The school of revolutionists believed even in violent methods to achieve their aims of political independence. Their methods were therefore secret and confined to a few ardent and passionate persons who were willing to risk their lives in the methods they adopted. They did not believe in the efficacy of any other mild methods. Therefore they could not bring the people as a whole or in mass in their movements. Many sympathised with their zeal, ardour, and sacrifice but thought them to be impracticable and even dangerous to orderly progress. Their value was that they made the government realise the depth, strength and extent of feeling against foreign rule and for political reform in India. They exerted indirectly some pressure on the progress of reforms in India.

Communal schools.—There are also various other shades of opinion and differences amongst the people, but the Indian public opinion crystallised itself into these main forms. Then there are also some communal schools of political thought which are influenced by religious, cultural or social considerations of their own community. They can hardly be called national, since they believe in acquiring political privileges at the cost of other communities and base political rights not on any human or national considerations but on religion, culture and caste. Their outlook is still sectarian feudal and traditional. But they will have to give up this desire for extra privileges in a struggle for nationalism and democracy which they profess to believe in. But at present their outlook and methods are checking the unity and progress of the country.

Indian Revolt of 1857.—The great revolt of 1857-8 and its ruthless suppression destroyed the strength of the old feudal order and princely ambition and established the despotism of the new centralised bureaucracy. The rulers became suspicious, illiberal and arrogant, the people disappointed, resentful and conscious. This change led in the case of the rulers to imperia-

lism and in that of the people to nationalism. Thus the racial antagonism and national discontent continued to develop and was fed up during the ministry of Disraeli in England and the administration of Lord Lytton in India.

The Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton and its imperialism.—Lord Lytton's viceroyalty (1876-1880) roused the thinking mind of India to the realities of the British rulers' mind. Lord Lytton had come to acquire an 'enduring fame' in India and in Asia. He wanted to behave personally like a Kaiser-i-Hind, a title assumed by the sovereign of England and proclaimed in a Durbar in India 1877. He passed the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 by which the freedom of papers not printed in English was curtailed. By the Arms Act of 1878 he disarmed the people. He tried to bring about an exclusion of Indians from appearing for Civil Service Examination. The age limit was brought down to nineteen so that very few Indians if at all could appear. He declared against higher education being given to Indians. He in 1876 abolished customs duty on imported cotton goods in England's interests. He wasted India's crores in Afghan wars and Asiatic ambitions. He increased salt tax. The people suffered and died enormously in the famine of 1877-1878 for want of relief. He set aside all public opinions and protests in the pursuit of his imperialist policy. He acted like a veritable Czar not a Kaiser.

Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty.—Lord Ripon's administration (1880-1884) reversed many of the acts of policy of Lord Lytton regarding Afghanistan, Vernacular Press (1882) and salt tax, and also tried to improve education and to introduce Local Self-government measures. But the mentality of the British people of the official and non-official class whose vested interests and privileges were encroached upon became fully evident during the Ilbert Bill controversy (1883-1884).

The Ilbert Bill controversy and its effects.—The Bill proposed to remove every judicial disqualification based merely on race distinctions, by force of which Indian District Magistrates, and Sessions Judges would have tried Europeans. Europeans raised a most violent opposition to the measure. Indians also raised an agitation in favour of it. There was bitter racial feeling displayed by Europeans. The result was that Indians began to lose faith in the British people and in their sense of justice and freedom. The Bill was withdrawn in 1884. Ripon resigned in December 1884. Its defeat left a sense of humiliation in the mind of educated India.

It increased racial bitterness, led to the growth of national discontent and convinced the Indians of the necessity of having a more powerful organisation for national work. Europeans wanted imperial dominance and formed a defence association with branches all over India to protect and to assert their special privileges and interests and collected a lakh and fifty thousand rupees. Indians wanted political equality and national unity. Surendranath Bannerji started an agitation for the creation of a national fund (July, 1883) in order to secure the political advancement of India by means of constitutional agitation. A National Conference to which representatives from all parts of India were invited was held at Calcutta for three days from December 28 to 30, 1883. They made speeches specifying their grievances and passed resolutions for representative councils etc.

Before this on the 1st of March Mr. A. O. Hume, a retired civilian had addressed an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University, urging them to form an association 'for the mental, moral, social, and political regeneration of India.' The letter produced a great impression on the educated. This made the people realise who ruled India and in whose interests. This was the atmosphere just before the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885. Lytton's policy and the Ilbert Bill controversy with its sequel were the two main political factors which created a sense of the reality about the political position of Indians and their utter helplessness in face of European interests and opposition. Various local associations and meetings in the country had debated and condemned these acts.

Rise of Indian National Consciousness.—This awakened the Indian national consciousness and strengthened its desire to unite its scattered forces and communities on one political platform and for one political object. Babu Surendranath Bannerji again travelled over the whole country in 1884, and brought home to the people their common grievances, common ambitions and common necessities. His central idea was the promotion of unification between different peoples and provinces. Indians began to think in terms of India's ills and needs and a change was immediately seen in the view point of the educated who began to look at all problems nationally. The natural result was a desire for a common national organisation to ventilate and redress grievances.

A second similar National Conference was held at Calcutta in December 1885. It was convened by the three leading associa-

tions of Calcutta—the British Indian of the zamindars, the Indian of the middle classes, and the central Muhammadan. It voted for the urgent reform of the legislative councils.

The Indian National Congress was meeting at the same time in Bombay. Both the movements were simultaneous.

The formation of the Indian National Congress.—The idea of forming a National Congress was formed at Madras in 1884 when seventeen men met in the house of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao. The result of their deliberations was to start a political national movement. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the Christmas holidays. A. O. Hume, S. Subramania Iyer, K. T. Telang, Dadabhai Naoroji and other leaders took an active and leading part. The First Session of the Congress took place in Bombay in the year 1885. There were seventy-two representatives from all parts of India. A. O. Hume who took a leading part in the creation of the Congress from the very beginning wanted that the Congress should deal with social matters. He had consulted Lord Dufferin who was then the Viceroy of India about the aims and objects the Congress should have. He advised that it should deal with political matters, desires and grievances of the people which government were anxious to gauge. Great persons like Dadabhai Naoroji, P. M. Mehta, M. G. Ranade, G. G. Agarkar, Raghunath Rao, A. O. Hume, W. C. Bannerji, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, N. G. Chandavarkar, P. Ranigiah Naidu, S. Subramanya Iyer, P. Ananda Charlu, and others were present on the platform. They adopted as the objects of the Congress :

1. The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in various parts of the Empire.

2. The eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.

3. The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussions, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

4. The determination of the lines and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests.

These objects do not show any definite political objective or method of work. They aimed at the creation of national unity and the expression of considered opinions on social problems.

Consideration of political problems.—The President of the Second Congress pointed out that it was purely a political body. On political matters Indians were united and therefore a common action was possible to meet common needs. On other questions they were necessarily divided, and therefore no united action was possible. Each community differed in its social needs. Therefore the Congress followed only a policy of political action in which all communities could unite. But the political movement generated and encouraged other movements in the country. Communities and provinces began to set their houses in order.

There was from the beginning a political atmosphere and a political spirit about the Congress work. It adopted the policy of dealing only with political matters. The reactionaries and bureaucrats ridiculed, abused and opposed it in all ways. Lord Dufferin later on went to the length of calling it seditious. But Englishmen like Hume, Wedderburn, Bradlaugh and Yule worked for it along with Indians.

The nature of resolutions passed.—The nature of the resolutions passed during the first fourteen years was by way of suggesting changes and reforms in the Administration, Legislature, Judiciary, Public services, Military expenditure, Policy of economic drain, Poverty of masses, Famine policy, Heavy civil expenditure and taxation, Disarmament of the people, Technical and Primary education, Land revenue system, Forest law, Excise duty, India Council, Home charges, Disabilities of colonial Indians, Frontier policy, Use of old Regulations for detention and deportation, Press acts, Exchange policy, and a number of other matters of general importance which affected the welfare and rights of the people.

Emphasis on certain principles.—The Congress also laid emphasis on the creation of representative institutions based on elective principles, the principle of no taxation without representation, a large share in public services and administration, the opening of the military career, the separation of judicial and executive systems, the introduction of trial by jury, permanent settlement, the extension of local self-government, and a number of other principles which are based on advanced constitutional ideals and demands of democracy. Resolutions

of prayers and protest were passed concerning these items in the annual sessions of the Congress.

Its branches and activities.—In order to strengthen the work of the Indian National Congress, deputations to England, a Congress Branch in England (1889), an Indian Parliamentary Committee in the House of Commons (1893), were suggested and formed. A paper called "India" was also started in England (1890) to inform and educate the English public about Indian demands and grievances. Public speeches were delivered in the country mentioning these demands and the public opinion was thus educated and awakened to a recognition of its political needs.

Revision of its objects and organisation. (1899).—In 1899 the Congress adopted new rules about its constitution. Its object was defined as "to promote by constitutional means the interests and well-being of the Indian Empire," and it was to consist of delegates elected by political associations or other bodies and by public meetings. Its affairs were to be managed by the Indian Congress Committee. Provincial Congress Committees and British Congress Committee were to be formed to carry on the Congress work. This early history of the Congress shows a large agreement amongst its members about its objects and work.

The value of the work of the early Congress.—It was not a partisan or communal body. Its leaders were broadminded, farsighted, unselfish and earnest. They awakened the country to a sense of its wrongs and to a value of its rights and responsibilities, and created a common sentiment of political unity and patriotism, and made the people to organise and to cooperate, and to help one another. It represented and reflected the opinions and wishes of every community in India which thought in national terms. Its leaders and presidents came from all parts and provinces, from all castes and communities.

Its national character.—It was a thoroughly representative and national institution. It did not favour one community at the cost or neglect of the other. It has never been accused of selfishness, but only of political ambition. It did not interfere in social problems, and industrial needs. Therefore new bodies like Indian Social Conference (1888) and Industrial Conference (1904) came into existence to solve them. But it remained the centre of all inspiration and the mainspring of all activities, because it was the source of all national consciousness

and awakening. The best and active minds of the country associated with it and worked for it. There was a succession of such men coming from all parts and communities which showed their vitality and political consciousness. They were self-sacrificing and self-reliant, resolute and resourceful, patriotic and persevering.

Sir Sayyad Ahmad and Congress.—Sir Sayyad Ahmad however refrained from joining the Congress movement. He preferred a more respectful tone towards the government and was of opinion that the political reforms proposed by the Congress would not be in the interests of the Muslims who were apathetic and in a minority and in 1887 dissuaded his community from joining the Congress, though towards the end of his life he felt the justice of the Congress demands. He organised a Muhammadan Educational conference in December 1887 in order to keep Muslims away from the Congress. In 1893 he formed the Upper India Muhammadan Defence Association. All these attempts failed. He was supported in this by an influential group of Anglo-Indians.

The early aim.—At first the Congress worked on the idea of a gradual Indianisation of the government and piecemeal reforms in all its branches. The idea of Swaraj as a goal and a remedy for all ills developed at the end of the nineteenth century and took shape in the twentieth. They criticised the government but had not attacked in a formal way the very conception of a foreign rule. The idea of full self-government had not arisen. The atmosphere was not ripe for it. New events had to take place and the value of British promises had to be tested before a response could come for the idea of self-government and a reasoning could take place as to the ultimate place of the British in the government of the country.

The new party and the new aim: causes of their rise.—The new party whose influence was to dominate the politics of the Congress after 1900 was the party of Mr. B. G. Tilak known as the Nationalist or Extremist party. The acts of repression and the facts of political and economic depression of the people made this party conceive of Swaraj as the only panacea for India's numerous ills: Government's plague and famine policy, Lord Curzon's repressive and unpopular policy were the immediate causes for the growth and strengthening of this party. The arrest and deportation of persons under century-old Company regulations without trial, the officialising of Universities (1904) the Partition of Bengal (1905) and the irresponsible course of

administration led to the rapid development of this new party in politics. It adopted Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education as its methods of obtaining Swaraj. Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Arabindo Ghose were its great leaders.

Lord Curzon's imperialism and conduct.—Lord Curzon (1899-1905) overdid Lord Lytton in his autocratic policy and methods. He set the whole country against his policy and acts. But he was after winning enduring eminence in every field of activity. His methods were autocratic. He thought too little of the public opinion and too great of personal wisdom and virtue. As an imperialist of the first rank he entered into a Tibetan military expedition (1903-4) without any provocation, and wasted Indian money in large amounts. But the result of the expedition was nil, and his imperial fame did not increase. His imperious treatment of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the forcible acquisition of Berar (1902) were in the same line. He passed the official Secrets' Act (1903) against public opinion. He brought under full official control the higher education by the Universities Act (1904). The final decision concerning affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges and the inspection of affiliated colleges were kept in the government's hands. He took away all the independence of higher educational institutions, and there was none in the lower. He called the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 as an impossible charter. People suffered and died largely during the famine of 1898-1900. Still there was money left for Delhi Durbar which was similar to the one held by Lord Lytton in 1877. He declared Indians to be liars and treated with contempt their opinions, and considered himself a paragon of virtue and wisdom and benevolence. But this crowning act was the Partition of Bengal (1905) in the teeth of public opposition. It was a province homogeneous, well-knit and united in sentiment, language and ambition. He rent it into two and joined the parts with other neighbouring but heterogeneous provinces which had very little in common as regards language, sentiment or common development. This impetuous act of his raised a storm of protest throughout the country and increased the people's national consciousness because of a deep humiliation. This gave rise to the ideas of Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National education. The Congress whose aims and methods of work were upto now approved by all developed two schools of thought, one the Moderate, and the other the Extremist. There was opposition on both sides to each other's goals and methods. Split was to come and it came at the Surat Congress in 1907.

Before that the work of the Congress had gone on usual lines. There was a protest against Lord Curzon's officialisation of universities, and the Partition of Bengal. The acts and policy and utterances of Lord Curzon had deepened the sense of wrong and humiliation caused by foreign rule in India. Gokhale condemned his administration in very strong terms in the Benares Congress of 1905. He even approved of boycott as a political weapon but it was to be used at the last extremity, and when there was a strong and popular feeling behind it. The popular feeling rose high and became strong on account of the Partition of Bengal and the repression by government to check the popular movement for its repeal.

Dadabhai defines the new aim.—Dadabhai Naoroji who became the President of the Congress at Calcutta (1906) put the aim of the Congress as twofold : “ First and most important is the question of policy and the principles of the system of government under which India is to be governed in the future, and secondly to watch the present system of administration, and introduce reform till it was radically altered and based upon right principles and policy.” He declared that it was absolutely necessary for the welfare and progress of the people to have Swaraj or self-government like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies. He believed that India was fit for it, and therefore a beginning should be made immediately. His words were “ Self-government is the only and chief remedy. In self-government lie our hope, strength and greatness. Be united, persevere and achieve self-government, so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine, and plague, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved, and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore amongst the greatest and civilised nations of the west.”

Split in the Congress at Surat (1907). Moderates and Extremists.—Though the Congress adopted the goal of Swaraj or self-government definitely, there was taking place a split in the ranks of the Congressmen. One section held to the old ideals and methods of appeal and slow progress ; the other section convinced by the repressive policy and coercive legislation of the government lost their belief in appeals to Parliament and in the policy of co-operation and came to advocate Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education as the chief methods of political agitation. The struggle between the two wings to capture the Congress took place at Surat (1907). Tilak led the Nationalist party. But the forces of the old order backed by loose legalities

in 1908 left the Nationalist party without a strong and a practical leader. Hence the Moderate wing kept under its control and carried on year by year the annual Congress meetings, where the same type of old resolutions about piecemeal reforms were repeated. Protests were made against the Partition of Bengal, and the coercive laws and deportations, and appeals were made for a larger share in the administration and representation in the Legislative Councils. Emphasis was also laid on compulsory and free primary education, technical and industrial education. Complaints against the usual grievances were repeated. There were also resolutions against Indentured Labour system and for the release of political prisoners.

The inadequacy of Monto Reforms.—Morley Minto Reforms of 1909 were the result of people's agitation after the Partition of Bengal. But they were half-heartedly given. The Executive dominated everywhere. The Legislative Councils contained a large number of nominated members, and their powers were merely advisory and also limited. The rules framed under the Act took away or diluted many of the things intended by the Act. Those Reforms were welcomed by the Moderates in their now exclusive Congress. But their total inadequacy to serve as a check on the executive irresponsibility was soon realised. Their unreal parliamentary character was immediately evident in their working. The restrictions they placed on the people's elected representatives only made the people agitate for more reforms. The agitation against their inadequate and unsatisfactory character gradually strengthened till 1914. But it required a number of additional forces and personalities to bring about a change.

Important influences in the growth of the Congress after 1914.—The facts which influenced the development of the Congress after 1914 were the release of Tilak and the entry of the Nationalist party into the Congress (1916), the World War (1914-1918), the rise of Home Rule League's agitation (1916), the Lucknow pact (1916), the Montford Reforms (1918), the Rowlatt Act (1918), and the Punjab atrocities (1919) and humiliations, and the personality, preaching and doctrines of Gandhi, and the consequent rise of Non-cooperation movement and the awakening of the masses, the Khilafat agitation, and the establishment of Legislative Councils under new reforms leading ultimately to the growth of responsible government in India.

Tilak's attitude after release.—As soon as Tilak returned from his Mandalay prison (1914) to which he was sentenced for six

years of imprisonment, he considered the policy of aloofness from the Congress adopted by the Nationalists was not wise under the new circumstances. Whatever may be the unjust actions and moderate or governmental influences which had kept the Congress in the hands of the Moderate party, had bound it down by a creed and had not allowed the formation of a rival Congress in 1908 by the Nationalist party, the time had gone by to feel, fret and fight about the Surat or later incidents, and the moment had arrived to unite under one body even by accepting the restrictions created by the Moderate creed of the Congress. He advised his followers to join the Congress. He seems to have felt sure that the active forces and public opinion were on his side, and that in a democratic and representative body like the Congress the real Indian democracy of which he was the leader would make itself felt, and would ultimately control the aim, the constitution and the policy of the body. It was a wise decision. The new afforced Congress would work unitedly during the Great War which was going on.

Mrs. Besant and politics.—There was also a move on the part of Mrs. Annie Besant and her associates to take a leading part in the politics of the country. Improvement in the political position of the people was felt by them to be a necessity in order that India may progress on all sides in religious, social, educational and political matters whose simultaneous development was necessary for one another. Mrs. Annie Besant was also anxious that the connection between India and England should not break but remain for the sake of mutual help and strength.

The impetus given by the War.—The war gave an impetus to the political aspirations of the people. It was given out that the war was a war for liberty and a destruction of autocracy. The new war aims involving hatred towards foreign rule and love of liberty and recognising the right of self-determination and independence of people did not lay down any territorial limits to their adoption. The government of India had become conciliatory being in difficulties and could not oppose publicly the demands for advanced political reforms in India, though they could restrict the political activities of workers like Tilak, Annie Besant and others under the Defence of India Act and other acts.

It gave India a new opportunity, brought a new sense of self-respect and self-reliance and developed greatly political consciousness amongst her peoples. This led the extremists and moderates to merge their political differences. The Hindus

and Muslims also began to approach each other and to think in terms of a united India and a common political programme. A new generation of educated Muslims had grown up. It was greatly influenced by the nationalist movements in Turkey, Persia and Egypt. It came to hate British policy towards them. This had led to a change in the creed of All-India Muslim League, in 1913 and later led to the Lucknow pact of 1916, and a joint scheme of political reforms. Muslims were deeply stirred by the war of the allies against Turkey.

The Nationalists enter the Congress.—The Moderates' vision had also widened. They were willing to give up the policy of excluding the powerful Nationalist party from the Congress by opening a new but small door to it. There were some negotiations amongst the party leaders. Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale met at Poona in 1914. In the Congress of 1914 held at Madras however no real approaches were made to admit Nationalists. In 1915 Mr. G. K. Gokhale and Sir P. M. Mehta died. But in the Congress of 1915 certain modifications in the rule for election of delegates were made. It was not necessary for a delegate to be a member of a Congress Committee in order to be elected. On this the Tilak party joined the Congress of Lucknow in 1916. Under the new political and national atmosphere India asserted her right of Home Rule or self-government within the Empire on a basis of equality with the self-governing Colonies.

The work of Home Rule Leagues.—However Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant in 1916 had started their active propaganda apart from but not in opposition to the Congress through their papers and through the newly started two Home Rule Leagues and associations which wanted to awaken and to train the masses to their political duties, right and responsibilities. The war did wake up the people and the government, the one for reforms or Swaraj, the other for recruits, loans and sympathy in its struggle. The cry of Home rule appealed to all and there was nothing legally against it. The aspirations and activities of the people rose and all the parties worked unitedly to become a self-governing nation. The Congress of 1915 had passed a resolution on self-government asking for "further and substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of self-government as defined in Article 1 of the constitution, namely, reforming and liberalising the system of government in this country so as to secure to the people an effective control over it." by giving provincial autonomy and financial independence, by the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, by giving con-

trol over the executive, a liberal measure of local self-government and others. A programme of continuous work educative and propagandist was decided to be carried on.

The Congress League Scheme (1916)—In 1916 the United Congress adopted the Congress-League Scheme at Lucknow. In this scheme the most important item was of Muslim communal representation which was recognised and a certain percentage of seats in each province was fixed for them. This unity between the two parties and two communities created a favourable atmosphere for national awakening and advance. The time and cry for piece-meal reforms was over. A new sense of self respect demanded Swaraj as early as possible. Thus the great bugbear of Indian politics was brought within the sphere of 'practical politics.'

The Home Rule Leagues carried on agitation and work amongst the people in all parts of India during 1916-1917, and 1918. They supplemented actively the work of the Congress and popularised the Congress League Scheme. Annie Besant's internment along with her assistants in 1917 added a great impetus to the movement. A number of leading peoples joined the Home rule movement.

The August Declaration. (1917).—On 20th August, 1917, was made the Declaration by Britain about constitutional advance in India, namely, that the goal of Britain in India was Responsible government. The declaration was "the policy of Majesty's Government, with which the government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire." The progress in this policy was to be achieved by successive stages. Mr. Montagu visited India in 1917. The Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the two Home Rule Leagues presented memorials asking for self-government. The Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian constitutional Reforms was presented to the British government in July, 1918. Indian opinion was not satisfied with the nature of the reforms proposed. There was half-heartedness in the scheme proposed and the right of the people to full responsible self-government was not conceded. The Executive in India and in England still dominated in a large part over the legislature, and the partial responsibility and control handed over was done in theory, but was not to be real in practice.

Attitude of various schools towards Reforms.—Moderates who seemed to accept them proposed a number of alterations. Home Rulers were dissatisfied with them and proposed a considerable number of changes. The Extreme School refused to accept them at all. The special Congress of Bombay (1918) declared the Reforms to be "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing." Resolutions were passed making suggestions for widening them and making them workable. Moderates held a separate conference in 1918 and only made suggestions for improvement. They seceded from the Congress and formed a new body called the Indian National Liberal Federation. The Delhi Congress of 1918 condemned the Reforms. The Reform Act was passed in 1919. It created a Legislative Assembly with a directly elected majority, as well as Legislative Councils in the provinces with elected majorities. But their powers were not full and the Executive remained supreme in the government of India. Dyarchy of Reserved and Transferred Departments in the provinces had many handicaps owing to the official and nominated members in Councils making a common cause with an elected communal minority and flouting the opinion of the majority, and the want of finances and the ultimate Executive supremacy under powers of certification. There was no element of responsible government in the Central Legislature and the Dyarchy in the provinces proved otherwise in its actual working. A large number of items were made non-votable, the Public services were unduly protected and the powers of the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General remained very large and autocratic. The Council of State proved reactionary and a stumbling block on account of the nature of its composition. The date for Dominion Status was not fixed. The Amritsar Congress of 1919 condemned the Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing." The Rowlatt Act (1919) and the Martial Law and Massacres (1919) in the Punjab and the contemplated treatment of Turkey created a vast gulf between the government and a large section of the people. The inhuman atrocities committed on an unarmed and peaceful people and fully proved by the Hunter and Congress committees estranged the public opinion which felt in no way desirous to work the Reforms. Only Moderates and Responsive Co-operationists would work for what they were worth. But Responsive Co-operationists did not want to break away from the Congress. They kept themselves with the Congress under the leadership of Mr. Tilak, and later on obeyed its mandate.

The year 1920 of Non-Cooperation.—The year 1920 is the

But the times soon changed. The Great War had ended (1918). The Mussalmans of India were greatly agitated over the Khilafat question. This led to the rise of Khilafat movement in India. They protested against the dismemberment of Turkey and the curtailment of its territories and independence. Some of them were prepared to leave India and to settle in Muslim countries as Muhajarins (1920). Others wanted to raise up strong discontent by agitation in India. Gandhi sided with them in their grievances and advocated redress of their wrongs.

Government's measures and Gandhi's message.—The government started with a Rowlatt Act (1919), an extra-judicial method of trial and conviction, instead of reforms. The Punjab atrocities and massacres of Sir Michael O' Dwyer's Martial Law regime (1919-20) made the people realise their extreme humiliation under the existing system of government. Consequently their feelings rose high. They wanted a leader who would show them a new path. Old methods and agitation had failed in the face of such calamities and humiliations. Gandhi came with a new message, method and hope, and the people generally fell in with his ideals and programmes. His methods and ideals fitted the Indian mentality, religious and ascetic. His disciplines and codes were based on the principle of what he called non-violent non-cooperation with the government and was accompanied by a programme of constructive work which made an independent, self-sufficing and industrious life possible. He was accepted by the Congress as its leader or dictator from 1920. His programme of work was accepted at the Calcutta and Nagpur Congresses of 1920. It was tried to be worked out in 1920 and onwards. He believed in the conquest of all opposition on the basis of love and sufferings freely and joyously accepted and gone through. Opposition would break down ultimately and truth triumph. There is a force inherent in the soul of man which exhibits itself in love, self-control and joyous suffering. They are the aspects of his real courage and the virtues of a noble struggle for a real cause. There was courage and virtue in suffering and dying without killing. The opponents are bound to yield to this force and also to mend their ways.

His ideal and Satyagrahasrama vows.—The vows which he formulated for his Satyagrahasrama (an educational institution) were :—

1. TRUTH : never to lie even for the benefit of one's country.

2. NONVIOLENCE : not to kill even tyrants but to conquer by love.

3. CELEBACY.

4. SIMPLE LIVING.

5. NON-STEALING.

6. NON-POSSESSION of everything which is not absolutely necessary for the requirements of the body.

7. SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

8. FEARLESSNESS ; freedom from fear of kings, people, family men, wild beasts, death.

These rules indicate the principles on which he worked.

A new class of workers necessary.—They were more ascetic than worldly. But he believed that India cannot save herself from her degraded position unless she followed in the persons of her workers these principles. Abnormal times require supernormal remedies. Men with vested interests and selfish and possessory outlook cannot solve the present situation. Men of ideals and hard discipline and work are wanted to do it. He therefore tried to prepare them in his Asramas and schools. They were to devote themselves to the services of the country and to become standards for a new spirit and a new life. Ordinary worldly life was to be given up to-day by the few in order to make it possible and good for the many in the future. In the renunciation and discipline of to-day lay the security and enjoyment of to-morrow.

The programme of Non-cooperation.—The actual programme of progressive non-violent non-cooperation adopted by the Nagpur Congress on his advocacy was as follows :—

1. Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation of nominated posts in local bodies ;

2. Refusal to attend government levees, durbars and other official and semi-officials functions held by government officials or in their honour ;

3. Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces ;

4. The gradual boycott of the British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts by them for the settlement of private disputes.

3. Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia.

6. Withdrawal by the candidates of their candidature for election to the reformed councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate, who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election.

7. The boycott of foreign goods.

Some consider civil disobedience as lawlessness. As it is defiance of existing law it is 'lawless,' But M. Gandhi says it is not so really. It does not commit any crimes of violence or interfere with the liberty of others. It is direct action of a people against government in the shape of withholding co-operation, service or duty in order to make it change its policy or laws, there being no constitutional way to do it. Its moral basis is that law and administration are not based on the consent of the people, but forced upon them by alien governors. It is a moral protest and means of attack against the present system and policy of government. Gandhi declares that civil disobedience as an inalienable right especially when the people have no effective voice in the government.

Swaraj within one year.—Gandhi promised Swaraj within one year, that is by the end of 1921. His programme was also meant as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice. It insisted on Swadeshi in cloth and advocated hand-spinning and hand-weaving for all. The programme was gradually to culminate in mass Civil Disobedience and non-payment of taxes.

Committees to work out the programme were to be organised in each village or a group of villages with a provincial and a central organisation, and an All-India Swaraj fund was to be raised for the purpose.

Partial success.—A large number of students left their schools and colleges for national institutions. Excepting Moderates and Conservatives all boycotted the Legislative Councils, and some pleaders gave up their legal practice.

Swadeshi in piece-goods got an impetus and a boycott of foreign goods began to be popular. Nearly a crore of rupees were collected, and the membership of the Congress increased. Handspinning and handweaving got an impetus. There was a great agitation throughout the country. Picketing of liquor shops began.

The country was anxious for starting civil disobedience and nonpayment of taxes by the end of the year. But Gandhi

did not think that it was prepared as it had not carried out his programme well. The spirit of nonviolence had not fully permeated the people. The All-India Congress Committee which met at Delhi on the 4th November passed a resolution on Civil Disobedience allowing the Provincial Congress Committees to start individual or mass civil disobedience if they were satisfied that the conditions laid down were fulfilled. Gujarat allowed Bardoli and Anand Taluks to start mass civil disobedience. But Bombay disturbances on the 17th November and the following days proved that the country was not as yet ripe for non-violent and peaceful methods. The boycott of Prince of Wales and the *hartals* made the Government however start arrests and imprisonments of Congress and Khilafat volunteers who were declared as members of unlawful assemblies under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. C. R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru and thousands of others were arrested and imprisoned. Under these circumstances the Congress of 1921 met at Ahmedabad. Mahatma Gandhi was appointed the sole executive authority of the Congress with power to appoint a successor. A great call was made on the people to enlist as members of a national volunteer corps to offer civil disobedience after taking a pledge of nonviolence, service and sacrifice.

Bardoli and after.—Mahatama Gandhi began to organise Bardoli for civil disobedience but the news of Chauri Chaura massacres in U. P. (1922) made him change his mind, and he did not launch the movement for want of a real non-violent atmosphere which he believed was essential for his movement. But the government had made up its mind to try him for sedition and sentence him to imprisonment for some articles in Young India. He was arrested, tried and convicted for six years' simple imprisonment. After him the non-violent non-cooperation movement lost its dynamic leader, and those who had full faith had not his personality and his powers, and those who had some personality, powers and influence had not full faith in his policy and programme.

Two parties.—Hence arose two parties; the one of Non-changers who stuck to Gandhi's full programme, and other of Swarajists who advocated a change in the methods and the giving up of triple boycott of courts, schools and councils.

Rise and strength of Swarajists.—They emphasised especially an entry into Councils and boycott from within which meant a policy of continuous obstruction. They pointed out that the Councils were functioning and hence they must

be checked in their career of mischief. The Swarajist party under the leadership of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru gradually became more important in the Congress. The Congress Inquiry Committee of 1922 had declared that the country was not ready for non-violent non-cooperation. Hence the balance shifted on the Swarajists' side.

They succeeded in the special Congress at Delhi (1923) in forming their party. They contested the elections (1923) in the second term of Legislative councils and entered them in large numbers in the Central Legislature and Provincial Councils (1924). Though they were not able to stop the Councils from functioning they prevented a number of detrimental decisions being taken in the Councils. The Non-cooperators or no-change party gradually concentrated upon handspinning and handweaving and national education. Some of them entered villages to raise them to simpler but higher standards of life. Mahatma Gandhi was released in 1924, and during 1924—1928 he carried on his constructive programme and hardly took part in aggressive politics. The Congress however gradually fell under the control of the Swarajist party, and though C. R. Das died in 1925, it was controlled and worked by it. Its programme proved to be more suitable to the city-bred and educated people who wanted to use the Councils in their fight with the bureaucracy. Gandhi's programme was based on a policy of 'direct action' founded on a conviction of self-help, self-effort and self-sacrifice. It created a real mass movement in India where there was largely a town movement amongst the educated classes who could advise and use only their pen and tongue for the people and against their political opponents. In Gandhi's movement it was the question of doing for oneself more than advising others to do. By the power of the united action of the masses the government was to be forced nonviolently to yield. He had said in his manifesto of December 1921 "The non-cooperators are at war with government. We want to overthrow the government and compel its submission to the people's will. . . . We will rather spill our own blood, not that of our opponents. This is a fight to a finish." This was the mentality of the people during 1919-1922.

Simon Commission.—There was a Conservative ministry in England from 1924 to 1929. It appointed the Simon Commission (1927) from whose personnel Indians were excluded by Lord Birkenhead. It was boycotted both by Liberals and Congressmen, feeling its composition as a deliberate insult to Indians. The Legislative Assembly also passed in 1928 a

resolution rejecting the scheme of Statutory Commission. However the Government formed later the Indian Central Committee for cooperating with it. But the Congress of Madras (1927) under the influence of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru declared "that the goal of the Indian people is complete independence." as a reply to it.

All-India Parties' Conference.—The All-India Parties Conference, which met at Delhi in February 1928, appointed a small committee of which Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir T. B. Sapru were the prominent members for drafting a constitution for India. They produced what is called "the Nehru Report." It recommended Dominion Status for India. It was accepted by the All-Parties' Conference which met at Lucknow in August 1928. But opposition came from Muslims and Sikhs. It was repudiated by the Muslim League and also the Independence League which favoured complete independence. The Calcutta Congress of 1928 resolved that the British government should accept the Nehru Report by 31st December, 1929, if not, it would start non-violent non-cooperation movement. This resolution was moved by Mahatma Gandhi himself, and he began a campaign in favour of the resolution.

In January 1929 the All-India Muslim Conference, which was a new body, passed a comprehensive resolution, declaring its political aims and communal demands. They declared for a federal system with complete autonomy and residuary powers being vested in the constituent states, and insisted on adequate safeguards, separate electorates and communal weightages of 33 per cent.

New political crisis.—Thus by the beginning of the year 1929 a new political crisis seemed to be developing in India. In 1929 a Labor Ministry under Mr. Ramsay Macdonald came into power, and a new spirit was shown towards Indian aspirations. Lord Irwin, the Viceroy who was then in England, after his return to India issued on 31st October (1929) with the approval of His Majesty's government a declaration of the goal of British policy in India. It reiterated the Declaration of August 1917 and the Declaration of His Majesty in the Instrument of Instructions (1921) that 'British India may attain its due place among his dominions, and stated that 'it is the desire of the British government that India should, in the fulness of time, take her place in the empire in equal partnership with the Dominions "and that" it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there con-

templated is the attainment of Dominion Status." It was also made clear that after the publication of the Statutory Commission's report a Round Table Conference of British and Indian delegates would be convened in London for the elaboration of the new Constitution for India.

A conference of leaders of all parties met at Delhi to consider the announcement and Mr. Gandhi drafted the resolution which was adopted. The leader's statement was appreciative. It showed willingness to tender cooperation in evolving a scheme of Dominion Status and suggested that it was vital for the success of the proposed conference to adopt (1) a policy of general conciliation. (2) a general amnesty for political prisoners. (3) an effective representation to progressive political organisations, and (4) a predominant representation to the Congress. But after the leaders met the Viceroy (23rd Dec. 1929) to confer with him on the personnel and other matters connected with the forthcoming conference, it was found that the conference failed, as the Government could not give a previous assurance that the purpose of the conference was to draft a scheme of Dominion Status which His Majesty's government would undertake to support.

Congress for independence.—The Lahore Congress of 1929 was full of excitement. President Jawaharlal Nehru pressed for complete independence. The Congress refused to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference and declared that Swaraj in the Congress creed meant complete independence and that Nehru Report scheme of Dominion Status had lapsed. It declared a boycott of legislatures and asked the present members to tender their resignation. It called upon the nation to concentrate on the constructive programme and authorised the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deemed fit, to launch a programme of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes.

Thus the Congress and the Government parted ways. But Gandhi before he started his Salt Satyagraha made an offer of eleven points in January 1930 to Lord Irwin which related to total prohibition, reduction of exchange ratio, land revenue, military expenditure and salaries of the services, abolition of salt tax and the U. I. D., protective tariff on foreign cloth, passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill, discharge of political prisoners, and issue of licenses of firearms for self-defence. If they were accepted he would not talk of civil disobedience and the Congress would participate in any conference where there is perfect freedom of expression and demand. This offer was not accepted.

First Civil Disobedience 1930.—Therefore Gandhi decided start his civil disobedience movement sanctioned by the Working Committee in February 1930. He wrote a letter to Viceroy 11th March which was a strongly worded indictment of the British rule in India, a reiteration of his faith in non-violent co-operation and civil disobedience to solve the problem of India and an appeal to him to deal with the great evils India is suffering from. There was no response from the Viceroy. Therefore Gandhi launched his salt Satyagraha campaign on 12th March, 1930 by his great and famous march to Dandi to manufacture salt illegally. Throughout the country people responded quickly and in great numbers. A large number of arrests were made and the leaders were imprisoned. But the movement grew in proportion. Arrests increased. The government issued a number of emergency ordinances setting aside the ordinary laws, procedure and courts to deal with the movement. They related to control and confiscation of press, prohibition of association, movement and picketting, and non-payment of taxes. Then the government arrested Gandhi on the 11th May under the regulation of 1827. The civil disobedience however went on. It affected the revenues of the country. There was fall of customs and excise. The situation had become serious. The government interviewed liberal leaders. The liberals and other interests and parties had opposed the independence resolution of the Congress and its civil disobedience campaign. They did not want to jeopardise the prospects of the proposed Round Table Conference. They were afraid of India's political advance being postponed or even set back in such a case. Therefore they urged the fixing of an early date for the Round Table Conference to discuss the scheme of Dominion Status. Lord Irwin announced 12th November as the date, invited the people to the ways of peace and to give up the civil disobedience movement. The movement however went on. The government declared the Working Committee illegal on 26th August.

Sapru and Jaykar fail.—The Liberals, Sapru and Jaykar, however, had undertaken peace negotiations in July for settling the differences between the Congress and the Government. The Sapru-Jaykar negotiations however failed, as the Viceroy would not agree to the leaders' demands—(1) the right of India to secede at will from the British Empire, (2) the grant of complete national government responsible to the people, (3) placing the defence forces and economic control, and (3) the right to examine British claims and concessions and the public

debt of India by an independent tribunal. He found them impossible. Consequently the stalemate continued.

Ramsay Macdonald's announcement.—The first Round Table Conference met in England from 12th January, 1931. On the last day the Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald announced the policy, procedure and intentions of His Majesty's government in regard to (a) full responsibility at the centre, (b) transitory obligations and safeguards, (c) federation, and added that "if in the meantime there is a response to Viceroy's appeal from those engaged at present in civil disobedience, steps will be taken to enlist their services."

As a result Gandhi and a number of his colleagues were released unconditionally to consider the statement of the Prime Minister.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact 1931.—Through the efforts of Messrs. Sapru, Sastri and Jayakar, Gandhi asked for an interview with the Viceroy for exploring the avenues of peace. It took place first on the 17th February, and a Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed on the 5th of March on the terms that civil disobedience was to be discontinued, that boycott of British goods as a political weapon was to cease, that Swadeshi propaganda, and peaceful and unaggressive picketting was to be permitted, that there was to be no organised defiance of laws, the question of police excesses was not to be pressed, that all ordinances were to be withdrawn and the Government was to declare a general amnesty. As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion was to be on the basis of Federation, Central responsibility and safeguards in the interests of India for such matters as defence, external affairs, minorities, financial credit and discharge of obligations. Steps were also to be taken for the participation of the representatives of the Congress in the scheme of constitutional reform.

The Karachi Congress (March 1931) endorsed the pact or provisional settlement, but emphasized its goal of complete independence. It appointed Gandhi as its representative to the second Round Table Conference to work with the objective of acquiring for the nation a control over the defence forces, external affairs, finance, fiscal and economic policy, a scrutiny by an impartial tribunal of the financial transactions of the British government in India and an assessment of each other's obligations, and a right of ending the partnership at will.

Lord Irwin left India on the 18th April and Lord Willingdon took charge. The conditions of the truce were not being

observed. There were interferences, prosecutions and imprisonments going on all over the country. There was the Bardoli land revenue collection by coercion. Mahatma Gandhi therefore informed the Viceroy (13th August, 1931) of his inability to go to London in view of the Government's harassment, attitude and activities, infringing the terms and spirit of the settlement. The government also accused the Congress of similar activities in contravention of the same settlement. On the 15th August there was an interview between the Viceroy and Gandhi. Matters were squared up and Gandhi proceeded to London to attend the Conference on 29th August, 1931.

Gandhi in England.—At the same time the labour ministry fell in England, and a new National Ministry under Macdonald was formed. The Conservatives dominated in it. Consequently the atmosphere, freedom and objectives of the First Conference disappeared. Under Sir Samuel Hoare's Secretaryship and initiative the spirit, methods and objectives of the conference changed, and the British attitude stiffened towards safeguards. Gandhi was not able to achieve anything except putting forth plainly the case of the Congress and its demands. His arguments were based on "we contemplate a partnership, a partnership at will and a partnership on absolutely equal terms." Failure of the Second Conference proved Gandhi's statement that liberty could not be obtained by argumentation or even by negotiation when aims were different. Congress stood for liberty. The Second Conference ended on the 1st December and Gandhi returned to Bombay on the 28th December.

Second Civil Disobedience movement, 1932.—The situation had not improved in the country during his absence, especially in the N. W. F. Province, the U. P. and Bengal. The government was in no mood for conciliation and was engaged in repression, and applying ordinances. The government refusing to yield or to reconsider their policy, the working committee set aside the constitutional issue, and called upon the nation to resume civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes.

Thus began the second civil disobedience movement of 1932. The Government had already prepared for it. Again the people responded in large numbers all over the country. But the Government prepared new ordinances of very drastic type and tried to crush the movement with all the forces at its command. Arrests, severe imprisonments and fines, detentions, death charges etc. were all adopted. Thousands of associations

were declared illegal and their properties confiscated when the ordinance period expired they were renewed. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested and imprisoned. The events of 1932-33 proceeded in the same way as those of 1930-31. The fight seemed to be more determined and more intense. The repression was very ruthless and the consequent suffering very great. In spite of it, however, the Congress session of 1932 (April) was held at Delhi and of 1933 (March) at Calcutta.

The Poona Pact, 1932.—During his detention Gandhi got that portion of the Communal Award which was made in August, 1932 and which granted the depressed classes separate electorates changed by his determination to fast unto death. The Poona Pact accepted by the Government was the result of negotiation and compromise. It abolished the separate electorates for the depressed classes created by the Communal Award. Gandhi then started on 8th May, 1933 a self-purificatory fast of 21 days. But the Government released him. He did not like it. He declared against the secret methods which the movement had developed under severe repression which had cowed down the people. They were demoralising the people. Therefore he advised suspension of the movement for six weeks which was done accordingly. The Poona Conference of July, 1933 authorised Gandhi to seek an interview with the Viceroy "with a view to explore the possibilities of peace." The Viceroy rejected it, unless civil disobedience was given up unconditionally. Therefore the struggle was continued. Instead of mass civil disobedience only individual civil disobedience was approved. Mahatma Gandhi was again arrested on 1st August before he could start his march to the village of Ras. Again hundreds of workers started the campaign of individual civil disobedience in response to the call of the Congress for freedom.

Gandhi started fasting again. He was released however unconditionally on 23rd August because of his weak health. He thereafter carried on a wide Harijan tour in the country.

Suspension of Civil Disobedience, 1934.—An increasing number of congressmen however had begun to search for ways out of the stalemate now produced. One party under the leadership of Dr. Ansari adopted a programme of entry into the Legislatures and decided to revive the All-India Swaraj Party, to get all repressive laws repealed and to reject the new constitution. Gandhi approved of it (5th April, 1934). On the 7th April he issued a statement advising all Congressmen to suspend civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grie-

vances. It was to be left to him alone. He found that the country was not prepared for it.

The Swaraj party approved of this. It met at Ranchi (3rd May 1931), and laid down its programme for securing the repeal of all acts and regulations of repression, for securing the release of political prisoners and for carrying out constructive programme. The A. I. C. C. which met at Patna suspended the civil disobedience in May, 1931, and approved of the formation of a parliamentary board to run and control elections. The ban on Congress organisations was lifted on 12th June. The White Paper was condemned by the Congress Working Committee which professed the alternative of a constituent assembly. It neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Award. There was however another group of young Congressmen who, while in jails, began to think in terms of socialism and the need of expanding the contents of the Congress programme and ideology accordingly. The first session of the Congress Socialist party was held at Patna in 1931 under the presidentship of Acharya Narendra Deva. It has now a number of branches in the country. It is against council-entry programme or acceptance of offices. It is for mass contact and mass movement by organising peasants' and workers' associations.

Birth of Socialist Party.—Socialist movement has been started in India by the middle class intelligentsia in the interests of peasants and workers, and lower middle class. It is directed against the grinding poverty of the people, insecurity of employment, eviction from land, and indebtedness created by exploitation of foreign capitalist, and indigenous landholders, moneylenders, priests and privileged people. The resolution of the Karachi Congress (1931) relating to fundamental rights advocates the end of foreign exploitation both political and economic, the economic emancipation of the masses and the state ownership of key industries.

Congress Socialist party was born in 1931 in jails where small groups of political prisoners discussed the need of a new orientation and a new ideology in Indian politics. They wanted to combine the twin forces of socialism and nationalism in their programme and work. They aimed at complete independence and political freedom, at ending the exploitation of the masses done by imperial and feudal powers and giving them economic opportunity and freedom, and at widening the basis of the struggle. They are against private property and exploiting State is to abolish privileges and to give equality of

status, opportunity and freedom to all. They have adopted the legitimate and peaceful methods of agitation. The Congress Socialist party stands for socialism but works with the Congress. It is actuated by socialistic ideals of economic equality and social freedom and by nationalistic ideals of political independence and national unity. They regard that though political problem is very important immediately, it is firstly a part of the-world problem of imperialism, and secondly nationalism by itself offers no solution of the vast economic and social problems, that confront our country and the world of the exploited. Thus a combination of these two outlooks has made them into a party with a policy and a programme. No doubt they work in cooperation with the Congress but they are also interested in awakening the masses, peasants and workers to a class consciousness and to a consciousness of their evils and wrongs and in making them assert themselves for their rights.

Amongst Socialists, there is another group led by Mr. M. N. Roy which wants not to organise any party but to work with the Congress, develop its ideology, the contents of its policy and programme from within and present a united front in the political struggle. It asserts this to be its immediate aim.

Though both the parties, namely, the Congress Parliamentary Party and the Congress Socialist Party are opposed to the new constitution which was finally framed by the Government in 1935 in spite of the Congress non-participation and opposition, the first is for entry into the Legislatures, and acceptance of offices and the other is for work outside them and for mass contact and organisation. Thus both the currents one of parliamentary action and reform, and the other of direct action and revolution are present in the body politic of the country. The Satyagraha Party at present has suspended its own civil disobedience, mass or individual activities. All the three parties which work in the Congress are for presenting a united front for achieving their chief political aim of Swaraj. The Parliamentary Party is now dominant and the Congress has accepted ministerial offices from 1st April, 1937, in seven out of eleven provinces, after knowing that no interference will be made by governors in their constitutional activities.

Secession of Moderates, 1918.—On the issue of reforms the Moderates seceded from the Congress and held their first Conference in 1918. They adopted the old creed of the Congress which was 'attainment by India of self-government on colonial

measures this party of violence arose because constitutional agitation did not succeed. Their object was not any absence of order or government but a change of government. Instead of British rulers whom they considered selfish and detrimental to the morals, material prosperity and genius of India they wanted an independent Indian Swaraj. This school was strong chiefly in Bengal and for a short time in Maharashtra owing to the government's plague policy and treatment of Tilak and in the Punjab owing to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's harsh rule. Its followers were fully prepared to sacrifice their lives in the pursuit of their methods. But the public as a whole did not see the expediency of their methods and kept aloof from their activities. Their object to bring about a change in the system of government was also the object of other parties. But their methods were poles apart. It was generally believed that the violent methods resorted to by a few cannot shake the might of the British rulers and the faith in and strength of the established order. But some intensely passionate and patriotic young minds who were careless of their lives, liberty or property did not consider the personal consequences. They believed in giving some violent shocks or shakes to the existing fabric of government and its supporters. The Government was very well-armed in law and in fact against them. They possessed extra-judicial powers under old regulations of arrest, detention, trial and conviction. They used them very effectively. But still the revolutionary party did not die owing to the existence of the political causes which gave rise to it. In the tussle between it and the Government a number of innocent people suffered. When the War broke out Government made use of its extra powers under the Defence of India Act (1915) in rooting it out. The movement seems to be almost dead but now and then it again raises its head, the reason being that causes which gave rise to it have not disappeared. Some of its members left or escaped from India and directed its activities from outside by propaganda, and by sending secret help and literature to India. They tried to gain sympathy in foreign countries for their objects especially in Europe and America. Ghadr (mutiny) party worked outside India largely in America and tried to influence the Sikh colonists, the Indian students or the returning immigrants. Government dealt strongly with them even on mere suspicion of their association with Ghadr party. They were detained, or tried and deported by special tribunals under old ordinances or the Defence of India Act (1915). On whole this party had very little influence on the quietistic

and the constitutional attitude of Indian politicians and the public. In 1918 a Committee presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt was appointed to inquire into the extent of sedition in the country and to suggest measures to meet it. It issued a report called 'Sedition Committee report' (1918) giving the genesis of the revolutionary movement, its nature, character and extent at the time of the report, and ways to eradicate it. It pointed out the existence of a widespread revolutionary movement in India and foreign countries which wanted to subvert the government. Legislation was undertaken in accordance with the report and there were passed in 1918 Rowlatt Acts which introduced extra-judicial courts and procedure to deal with the cases of revolutionary nature. The members of the Assembly opposed them vehemently but they were passed. But the leaders carried on great agitation against them, which later on led to the rise of Satyagraha or non-violent non-cooperation movement after the Punjab massacres and atrocities of 1919 and Khilafat discontent and exodus to Afghanistan. The Government has been arresting and detaining hundreds of persons in Bengal without trial under the old Regulation of 1818 since the expiry of Rowlatt Acts and especially since 1924. and letting them loose again after being satisfied in each particular case, but the strength of the movement is now at its lowest ebb and is not likely to rise again in view of public opinion and an advance of constitutional position. The goal of Swaraj is in sight. This is the general belief.



2. OUR COMMUNAL MOVEMENTS.

Muslim communal movement.—The Communal movement of the Muslims may be traced to the policy of aloofness adopted by Sir Sayyad Ahmed (1817-1898). He believed in guarding the interests of his community by keeping aloof from Congress politics and in promoting its interests by spreading education and other reforms. He established the Aligarh College in 1879. Though he recognised the importance of Hindus and Muslims as being the two eyes of India, he devoted himself solely to communal interests and eschewed the advanced National Congress politics. In the beginning there were a number of Muslims who attended Congress sessions but later the communal feeling being fostered, the Muslims began to think in terms of their communal interests and privileges and not in the interests of the country as a whole. Only a few were national. Sir Sayyad Ahmad's policy had born fruit in keeping Muslims as a distinct and organised community from the Hindus and in making them enter into negotiations with the Government or the Hindus for

a quiring communal privileges. The Partition of Bengal (1905) and the Government's pro-Muslim policy created a feeling of political separatism amongst Muslims. They were encouraged by Anglo-Indian bureaucracy to ask for special privileges in the political administration of the country and their general outlook welcomed this move. Their communal consciousness made them afraid of a Hindu majority in the democratic form of possible government which the Congress advocated. So they insisted on special rights and position as a communal minority. They took a deputation with H. H. the Aga Khan at its head to Lord Minto the Viceroy on the 1st of October, 1906 and urged that no system of representation should be devised unless it reserved and assigned a certain number of seats to them on each elected body in proportion to its numbers and political and historical importance and unless electorates were formed to elect that number. Lord Minto promised and the Government of India admitted their claims and supported them, and in the regulations under the Indian Councils Act of 1909 special communal electorates, low qualifications for members and separate representations were conceded to the Muslims and were sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India. They were also allowed to vote in the general electorates, while Hindu minorities had no such electorates. Raja of Mahmudalad, a leading Muslim, stated that the idea of separate communal electorates arose and was encouraged in quarters other than Muslims. Whoever may be the inspirer and promoter of this pernicious idea the Muslim community took a strong hold of it and some are pressing for it even now. Actuated by this idea of political and communal separatism and aloofness, Muslims started an All-India political association as a rival to oppose the Congress called the Muslim League in 1906. Its president was Aga Khan from 1906-1913. It preached loyalty to Government and advocated the protection of its special political and other interests. In its early period it received considerable support from officials and the Government. But later on it veered round to the Congress view under the influence of patriotic Muslims, and in 1913 it adopted as its aim "self-government on colonial lines suited to India." Differences between it and the Government began to arise in 1912 in connection with the raising of Aligarh College into a Muslim University. It had in 1908 welcomed Lord Morley's proposals with great satisfaction calling it a large and liberal instalment of Reforms.

Muslims were however largely influenced by national movements in Turkey and Persia (1911). From 1915 it

is found that the League and the Congress met at the same place and began to co-operate and fraternise with each other, and at the Congress of Lucknow in 1916 the League and the Congress agreed mutually on a pact as to the proportion of Muslim representation on elected bodies in every province and in the central Government. A Congress League scheme in the nature of a joint demand was also drafted in 1917 and presented to Mr. Montagu for consideration and adoption as the future constitution of India. The new reforms (1918) though they condemned communal representation accepted the Lucknow pact and communal electorate in 1919 in order to avoid immediate discontent.

During 1919—1922 the Muslims had pressed their Khilafat agitation and claims on the Government and had sought under Gandhi's leadership the cooperation and support of the Hindus in their cause of Khilafat. But after 1922 and especially from 1925 Hindu-Muslim tension grew on various questions, such as a proportionate share in the public services and local bodies, and the music and cow question. The Khilafat was broken and partitioned. The successful Turks themselves deposed the Khalifa and separated state from religion. Therefore the Khilafat issue receded to the background. The Muslim League which was overshadowed by the Khilafat agitation again (1924) rallied Muslim leaders to consider questions of internal politics in which Muslims were interested. It was not in favour of non-cooperation and therefore advocated council entry and the guarding of Muslim interests in the constitution of India.

To-day there are two parties amongst them advocating two different proposals regarding the Muslim demands in the new constitution of India. One party is in favour of joint electorates but reservation of seats in provinces wherever they are in a small minority according to the population basis. The other party is for separate electorates and reservation of seats in all provinces according to population basis in Muslim majority provinces and according to what they call an effective basis in minority provinces. They want weightage in representation. There are a few Muslims who advocate general electorates and condemn separate or joint electorates with reserved seats as detrimental to democratic and national ideas. A large part of patriotic Muslims have accepted the Nehru Committee proposals (1928) of joint electorates on the condition of Sind a predominantly Muslim province being separated from the Bombay Presidency

which is now done and on reserving a few seats according to the population to Muslims in addition to their being allowed to stand in the general electorate.

*Its effects :—*Montagu report had condemned it as being against the principles of democracy, nationalism and responsible government. The report points out that it is opposed to the teaching of history that communal electorates are inevitable or the best, that they perpetuate class divisions and by inducing a false sense of security do not encourage education or advance. There is no give and take of political life. The communal system stereotypes existing relations and fosters communal mentality, and is detrimental to national freedom, and unity and self-government. Muslim extra-territorial outlook and desire for pan-Islamic federation of Asiatic states has often caused anxiety and trouble to the Government. In a self-governing India where there are seven crores of Muslims largely inhabiting the border provinces of India—Sind, the Punjab, the N. W. F. province, and Kashmir, there is a great danger of such an outlook when the neighbouring states are Muslim. History had created political connections with them in the past. Some dynasties coming from those parts had ruled India. Therefore an independent India requires a thoroughly national outlook intense in its desire of national independence. This is another factor in the mentality of Muslims which has caused and maintained a great distrust among the two communities.

Communal Award of 1932.—In August 1932, the British Government published its Communal Award. The differences which separate communities in India are largely religious and social and are accentuated by fostering of conflicting historical traditions, by political rivalries and by economic contrasts. There is no doubt that a mutual agreement between different communities about their share in political power is necessary, before any democratic constitution can work. Congress tried its best to find out a settlement but has failed before their intransigent attitude. The Communal Award of 1932 has retained communal electorates, allotted special reserved seats to the depressed classes, women and certain other classes, and laid down the communal proportion and number of seats in legislatures. They can be modified only on the basis of a future agreement between the different communities concerned.

Muslim standpoint.—The central idea in Muslim demands is what they call adequate and effective safeguards for their community in matters of religion, culture, education, franchise,

and representation in public services. They want to unite for common affairs, economic and political, but to keep separate in respect of religion, education, and culture. Hence they claim certain fundamental rights or safeguards embodied in the constitution which no government or majority should override or take away. They also want to maintain their political existence as a community in India and thus try to secure separate and additional representation on communal grounds in political bodies and public services. If this attitude is persisted in for long and separate claims are made in political and economic matters there is no possibility of a new Indian nation being created. Then the question will remain which community will be strong enough to dominate the political destinies of India and hold its political and economic power. Pacts between such separately organised communities have no permanent political value as they will not be lasting. Their duration will depend on the strength of the community at that particular time. There will always be a desire to dominate and to acquire additional political rights at the cost of others. In this connection let us compare the fate of the Lucknow Pact which was thrown overboard and additional privileges favouring one community at the cost of the other have been given by the Communal Award. This means organisation of two or more political entities in a sovereign state which is fundamentally a unitary conception.

Khilafat party.—The Khilafat Committee started in 1909, arose out of the resentment felt by Indian Muslims at the dismemberment of Turkey and the Christian rule in the holy places of Arabs (Jazirat-ul-Arab). In 1920 it adopted Swaraj for India as one of its objects and non-cooperation as its programme. Thus came into existence the Congress-Khilafat alliance.

During 1920 to 1924 the Khilafatists joined Gandhi's non-cooperation movement. Gandhi had advocated Hindu-Muslim unity and the restoration of Khilafat. But after his arrest and imprisonment in 1922 the Congress Khilafat partnership got weakened. Communal disturbances took place. The Muslim League was revived by Mr. Jinnah in 1924, and the partnership was dissolved. It was largely due to the abolition of Khilafat in 1924 by Kamal Pasha who had succeeded in establishing a new and powerful republican Turkey on secular foundations in spite of the Allies' opposition. In 1927 it joined in the boycott of the Simon Commission, but in 1928 it opposed the recommendations of the Nehru Report. It disagreed on the communal plan and the Dominion Status. Khilafatists

wanted separate electorates and independence as the goal of India. In 1929 however the Khilafat Conference at Lahore decided to cooperate with the Round Table Conference while declaring itself in favour of independence.

Shiah standpoint.—In India as elsewhere the Shiah-Sunni relations are often strained owing to some religious differences. To promote the interests of the community throughout India the 'All-India Shiah Conference' was organised in 1907. It considers matters relating to its social and educational reforms. In 1937 it adopted a bold national attitude in political aims and methods independent of the All-India Muslim League, and favouring Congress aims and methods.

It argues that Muslims should not be organised as a separate political unit. Politically they must join hands with the members of the other communities, and that political isolation of communities is dangerous to the country and to themselves. They would therefore join hands with the Congress which is the only national and non-communal body and has proved it by its aims and methods, attitude and activities. They should cooperate and work with it in solving economic and political problems.

Muslim Nationalists.—Muslim Nationalists represent those who are against communalism in politics. They are mainly followers of the Congress. They think they are Indians first and have an essentially Indian outlook. They want to broaden the outlook of their community as a whole and take full part in the nationalist movement. Their leaders like the late Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Drs. Mahmud and Kitchlew are men of all-India reputation. Their strength is rapidly growing under the new conditions of life. A large number took part in the civil disobedience movement. They are supported by Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind (a body of Muslim divines.). They are for joint electorates with reservation of seats for a transition period. They do not think that their religion and culture are in any danger in fighting for a democratic and independent India as Indians.

Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind.—The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind was started in 1919. After the decline of the Khilafat, it has interested itself in purely religious and national matters. It devotes its energies to the protection of personal rights of Muslims and Muslim culture in an independent India. Its programme includes the picketting of liquor shops, processions, and boycott of British goods. Politically it agrees with the Congress.

It advocates joint electorates with the reservation of seats. It has an All-India Committee, a working committee, and provincial committees. It claims that the vast majority of Ulema's or Muslim divines belong to it. It has taken part in the civil disobedience movement and a number of its members, who are about 20,000 suffered imprisonment. It has its own volunteer organisation.

Standpoint of the Muslim League.—As against this, the All-India Muslim League which was revived in 1924 under Mr. Jinnah's leadership has developed the theory of fourteen points of the Muslims and the outlook of political separatism. It is not prepared to give up separate electorates, weightage in representative and public services. The All-Parties Muslim Conference (1928) was presided over by Aga Khan. It was able to pass an agreed resolution for communal electorates by excluding all reference to Dominion Status Independence and the Simon Commission. Thus it rejected the Nehru Report. It demanded a federal constitution. In 1930 its council adopted Jinnah's fourteen points, rejected the Simon Report and welcomed the Round Table Conference.

Under the pressure of new public opinion and political environment it has however changed in 1937 at Lucknow its creed of 1913 into "the establishment in India of full independence on the form of federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of Mussalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution." If the aim has changed, its attitude and activities are still of separatism. It is opposed to the Congress claim of being a national organisation and is hostile to its movement for contact with the Muslim masses and for bringing them into the Congress fold. It has raised the cry of Islam in danger. It accuses the Congress of being pro-Hindu. Muslims at present, however, generally believe in a united India, and democratic government. They want responsibility with safeguards in the shape of certain fundamental cultural and religious rights and political weightage in franchise and seats and reservations in public services.

Problems facing Muslims.—The problems which face the Muslims of India are not merely those of social reform, education, political ambition and religious awakening, but there are others such as those of Pan-Islamism, Indian Islamism, Nationalism, Western culture or modern knowledge, and tolerance. The idea of Pan-Islamism, though culturally and religiously welcomed, is politically detrimental and dangerous to nationalism

and internationalism. But after the abolition of the Khilafat by Turkey and the rise of intense nationalism in Arabia, Turkey and Iran, Pan-Islamism is dead politically. Indian Muslims have to recognise the fact, though their sympathies are naturally with their coreligionists elsewhere.

Indian Islamism, that is, the creation of an independent Islamic culture and a separate regional state in India apart from the common Indo-Muslim culture which has grown up in the past and from the common Indian state which binds all communities to a common political power and territorial centre is perhaps the greatest danger that has appeared in our history. It was never there before. No doubt it seems to be impossible to realise it now. But the very conception is dangerous to the body politic of India and to its unity, independence and common culture. It would be a betrayal of the whole historical development and mission of India.

The problem of nationalism is being faced squarely. The only trouble would be about the creation of joint electorates and elimination of communal weightages. These go against the very conception of democracy, but as long as India is a country of communities with some different traditions of religion and culture, it can be solved by a series of compromises and adjustments.

The problem of conflict of indigenous culture with the western culture is a problem of outlook and knowledge, and therefore of assimilation of the best of the two. It is a problem which education and experience, need and rationalism alone will solve.

The problem of tolerance and respect for other's views is a *sine qua non* of modern life. Scientific spirit, human and democratic outlook require it. Without it no system of common and equal citizenship is possible. There will be no peace and order, civic trust and social service in a nation whose citizens are not actuated by a spirit of tolerance, respect, and brotherhood towards their fellow-beings.

Non-Brahman communal movement.—The non-Brahman movement is another communal movement developed and strong in the South from 1916. The Brahman predominance in religion, society and politics roused the ire of some non-Brahmans like Dr. T. M. Nair and Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti who tried to consolidate castes other than Brahmans into a political federation or association in order to secure political rights in the councils, cabinets and public services for their *sses*. These included landlords, merchants and a large number

of industrial classes and workers. They formed a party known as the Justice or the non-Brahman party with 'Justice' newspaper as their principal organ. These classes did not include the untouchables in their association. They brought severe criticism as well as abuse to bear on the Brahman classes. They demanded a separate representation or reservation of seats in the councils even though they were in the majority as voters, and a proportionate share in the public services irrespective of merits. The over-representation and share of the Brahmans was to be curtailed. Numbers not merit, protection not open competition, were to be counted in the organisation of Indian democracy. The one was based on the theory of equality, and the other on that of inequality, minority interests, or backward interests. There is no protest against the wealthy, or against the foreigner, but against a particular class in whom the percentage of education, intelligence and merit happens to be higher.

This party declared itself against Home Rule and supported the government policy. A South Indian People's Association was formed in 1917. One of the members said, "would they prefer to be governed by a typical Englishman or a typical Brahman? The Englishman was a selfish creature. He was a mercantile being, but he had also ideals of freedom, justice and fairplay. So he would rather throw himself on the mercy of the liberty-loving Englishmen than that of an oligarchy which preyed upon the people and their weakness. Their Home Rule meant anti-Foreign rule. He could not bring himself to think that an Englishman was a common enemy. He might be an enemy of the Brahmans, but certainly he was not an enemy of the non-Brahmans. Non-Brahmans did not look upon the government of Englishmen as enemies. High officials of the government associated with them and patronised them. The movement has spread rapidly to the Deccan also. It considers all forward movements in politics, social reform and even religion are due to Brahmans and therefore it suspects their motives and avoids them. In this attempt some of the non-Brahmans have taken to advocate anti-national causes under their Brahmanophobia. However there is a large class of non-Brahmans who take another view and are working for the welfare of their society as a whole.

Its underlying idea.—Its underlying idea is however what they call social justice. It is based on the ideas of equality and freedom of units or groups not individuals. It wants to break the barriers and inequalities of caste and community.

Its aim is "to enable every unit of Indian society to develop itself according to its genius, and thereby to form a strong element in the nationalism of India." The movement received a great set-back during the civil disobedience movement. It is less reactionary to-day. Its leadership is changing and becoming national. Its conservative outlook is yielding under the protests of lower orders and castes. Its pro-government attitude is becoming a pro-Congress one. It has not become a mass movement and has no support in villages, where the Congress has much greater influence. The Justice party in Madras and Satyashodhak Samaj in Maharashtra are almost non-existent to-day.

Standpoint of Hindu Mahasabha.—Hindu Mahasabha came into existence in 1916. Its aim has been to protect the interests of the Hindus in the politics of the country and to develop its solidarity and consolidate its various groups for a common national purpose and endeavour. It holds its session every year and considers the major problems which affect its national rights, its unity and culture. Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Sradhdhanand, Dr. Munje and Bhai Parmanand have contributed largely to its organisation and work. It believes in Shuddhi (re-conversion) and Sangathan (consolidation) to bring about the regeneration and unity of the Hindus. It is against untouchability and distinctions and inequalities of castes. It wants equal social and political rights for every Hindu. It advocates joint electorates and representation of communities on population basis. It demands the protection of culture, script and personal law of communities. It defines the term 'Hindu' as a person professing any religion of Indian origin which includes Jains, Buddhists and Sikhs also. It is against the grant of any undue political privileges to any community and the splitting of India on communal lines. It accuses the Congress of pro-Muslim attitude. It condemns the Communal Award of 1932 in its over-weightage given to Muslims at the cost of the just rights of Hindus. It is not enamoured of communal unity at any cost. It does not want to give up its due share in the political power of the country. It aims at building up a strong and self-respecting civic community of the Hindus and is prepared to co-operate on equal terms with other communities. It has advocated the solution of the communal problem on the lines indicated by the League of Nations.

The Congress does not approve of the Maha-Sabha activities, and considers them communal and anti-national. The Mahasabha accuses Congress as being anti-Hindu and pro-

Muslim in its tendencies which have encouraged Muslims to make more demands at the cost of other communities. It is for dominion status.

Sikh standpoint.—The Sikh as a community support the Congress policy but not its pro-Muslim tendencies. They are prepared to give up their demands for reservation of seats, communal electorates and all other safeguards in national interests if the constitution is based everywhere on a general electorate and no reservations, otherwise they are not prepared to surrender their demands. They are against statutory majority for any community in the Punjab. Their seventeen points include Sikh representation in provincial and central cabinets, services, army council and legislatures, supreme control of Indian and provincial affairs to be in a responsible control government, and provisions for preservation of their script and culture.

The movement of untouchables.—The movement of untouchables against castemen, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, for social, and religious rights has gradually found expression in communal and separate electorates for the depressed classes along the lines of Muslim electorates according to population basis. They being not well organised nor historically influential could not secure any special rights. A few of them used to be nominated by government to seats in legislative councils and local boards and municipalities. They opposed the grant of Swaraj to India till they secured representation in the benefits of Swaraj according to population basis.

Their demands.—The chief organisations of these classes are the All-India Depressed Classes Conference and the All-India Depressed Classes Federation. The former is older and larger and is led by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah. The latter is founded by Dr. Ambedkar and is more assertive and aggressive. Both are trying to get rights of equality and freedom for their community in the religious, social and political life of India. The present differences within these organisations centre round the question whether the untouchables should develop outside or inside the Hindu Community. Rao Bahadur Rajah concluded a pact with Dr. Munje which is based on the principle of an undivided Hindu Community in the constituencies and an adequate number of seats in the legislatures reserved on a population basis. Mahatma Gandhi fasted for this view and brought about the Poona agreement of 1932. Dr. Ambedkar asserts the other view of the separate interests of the community and wants to promote its interests outside the Hindu fold if

necessary. He has accepted however the Poona settlement (1932). It has given them adequate share in the legislatures of the country. They must however get a feeling of general security and of social equality and justice in the civic life of the country. This is Dr. Ambedkar's view-point. For this purpose he has been advocating separate representation in the legislatures and public services which alone he thinks will give them a sense of self-confidence and security and also political position to protect their interests. They believe in a united and self-governing India with temporary safeguards for minorities.

Communal movements are anti-national and dangerous.—These are the main communal movements acting as cross-currents in the political advance of India. Unless a large part of their demands or ambitions are satisfied or they are convinced of their equal and proper treatment under the new Swaraj constitution they will always check the political advance of India. There are other minor movements amongst non-Brahmans also in which different castes want special representation. The only solution for this vicious trouble is the adoption of adult suffrage so that each community or caste has a fair chance to educate itself and to secure seats or a share in the political power according to its numbers and individual merits. Of course the question of share in the public services remains. But that cannot be made a communal question. Merit and efficiency must count if we are to become and to remain a strong nation. Montagu Report says; "Any general extension of the communal system would encourage still further demands and would in our deliberate opinion be fatal to that development of representation upon the national basis on which alone a system of responsible government can possibly be rooted." It further says "Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens." Caste exclusiveness and religious intolerance or distrust must go in order to create a higher civic and national life. In sharing the joys and sorrows, wishes and wisdom of one another lies the hope of a united and greater India of the future holding her own in the world of different states. We must all work to that end and co-operate for that work.

At Karachi (1931) and at Calcutta (1937) the Congress has declared the rights of minorities in the following terms:

The Congress has solemnly and repeatedly declared its policy in regard to the rights of the minorities in India and has stated that it considers it its duty to protect these rights

to ensure the widest possible scope for the development of these minorities and their participation in the fullest measure in political, economic and cultural life of the nation. The objective of the Congress is an independent united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage and where all elements of the nation may co-operate together for the common good and advancement of the people of India. This objective of unity, mutual cooperation and common freedom does not mean suppression in any way of the rich variety and cultural diversity of Indian life which has to be preserved in order to give freedom of opportunity to the individual as well as to each group to develop unhindered according to his or its capacity and inclination. In view, however, of the attempts being made to misinterpret the Congress policy in this regard, the All-India Congress Committee desire to re-iterate this policy. The Congress included in its resolution on the fundamental rights that—

(1) every citizen of India has a right to free expression of opinion, right to free association and combination and right to assemble peacefully and without arms for a purpose not opposed to law or morality.

(2) every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience, the right to freely profess and practice his religion subject to public order and morality.

(3) culture, language and script of the minorities and of different linguistic areas shall be protected.

(4) all citizens are equal before law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

(5) no disability attached to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to public employment in an office of power or honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(6) all citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort maintained out of the State or local funds or dedicated by private persons for use of the general public.

(7) the State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

(8) the franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

(9) every citizen is free to move throughout India and stay and settle in any part thereof to acquire property and follow any trade or calling and to be treated equally in India.

These clauses of the fundamental rights resolution made it clear that there should be no interference in matters of conscience, religion or culture and that a minority is entitled to keep its personal law without any change in this respect being imposed by the majority. The position of the Congress in regard to the communal decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the election manifesto issued last year. The Congress opposed this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the communal decision should only be brought about by mutual agreement among the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement. In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their cooperation and through their good will in the common undertaking and for the realisation of the common aim which is freedom and the betterment of all the peoples of India. /

CHAPTER XII

Our Civic Life.

3. OUR CITIZENSHIP.

"Political society exists for the sake of noble actions, and not of mere companionship."

"A citizen is who shares in governing and being governed. He differs under different forms of government, but in the best state he is one who is able and willing to be governed and to govern with a view to the life of virtue." —Aristotle.

Meaning of constitutional government.—Constitutional government accepts the rule of law and the sovereignty of the people through representative legislature and responsible executive. It means working according to forms and spirit of law, and working through the normal institutions and conventions, procedure and officers created and established by the normal law. It is the government of laws and not of men. It contemplates opposition to government by citizens if government adopts arbitrary and special powers and methods and proclaims arbitrary laws, that is, if it breaks normal laws of the state.

No government, magistrate, prince or assembly has any inherent rights over the citizens. It is allotted duties and powers by the constitution to do certain functions of protection and welfare for the citizen. It must respect the rule of law, the sovereignty of the people and a general equality of all officers and citizens before the law. The government is subordinate to law—within the ambit of law to the judiciary, beyond it to the legislature. Government is not the people. It is merely its legal authority. The people are power and not authority. We must distinguish between power and authority, people and government.

The Constitutional government has a real regard for the opinion of the people and gives a share to them in political authority in the form of rights and responsibility. Therefore it is the citizens' duty to fight for not only civil liberty but also to achieve and maintain constitutional government in the country. Constitutionalism is the method of law as contrasted with force or self-will.

Legal right.—A legal right has been defined as “the range of action assigned to a particular will within the social order established by law.” There is no unlimited liberty of action possible or desirable in a society. It must be limited in extent and direction. A right is generally over persons or things, over their actions, protection or possession. It is given to an individual over his own person in the form of protection and liberty, and also over property in the form of its protection and use or enjoyment. It is given against all others for him to assert and to enjoy. There is a similar right given to all as regards their own person or property, liberty or pursuit of happiness. But a right of one entails a duty on all others to avoid encroaching on his right as it is due to him and recognised by the social order or state. Thus the rights which are recognised in modern societies as enforceable by the state are many. State protects them on his behalf against others. But there is not only this scheme of rights and duties between individuals but also between the government and the people. The state which comes into existence to protect these rights continues to carry out its function through its machinery of government. Now if this executive body itself encroaches upon or infringes those rights and does not afford any protection to individuals or their voluntary groups, then the very purpose of state is violated. In a normal state the protection and obedience are reciprocal. Therefore it becomes necessary in a scheme of rights and duties sanctioned by the state not only to lay down spheres of liberty or restriction between individuals and groups but also between citizens and government. Every one of these rules is a sort of boundary laid down by the society in order that its members shall not collide with each other in their actions.

We are not here going to deal with all the rights of individuals against one other, but largely with the fundamental rights based upon personality in relation to authority manifested in various liberties and properties.

Citizen, subject and alien.—A citizen is a member of an organised political community. He possesses certain rights as its member. They are not fully possessed by those who are not citizens such as aliens or slaves or subjects. An alien does not possess certain civil and political rights. A slave hardly possesses any civil or political rights. A subject possesses many civil rights but few if any political rights. Thus there is a full citizen, a partial citizen and a non-citizen in every state. At present however there is a gradual disappearance of the slave and the subject class throughout the world in self-governing

countries. The only distinction there remains is that of citizens and aliens. An alien is a citizen of a foreign state. Hence he cannot be a citizen of the state in which he resides because he has not, nor wants to acquire rights of citizenship by naturalisation, that is, by giving up his allegiance to his own state and giving it to the new state where he is residing. It is now only in subject countries that there are subjects and slaves who do not possess full citizen's rights.

Nationals.—Citizenship means full membership of a state. A citizen must be fully loyal to it which in turn must protect him fully. A full citizen is a national. All others are foreigners or aliens. The character of a national of a given state depends on parentage (*Jus sanguinis*) or place of birth (*Jus soli*). The tie between a state and its nationals is permanent, unless changed. So long as it continues it exists whether the national is for the moment in the territory of his state or abroad. A state protects its nationals in foreign countries.

Aliens.—Aliens are generally allowed to travel, reside and trade in the country except in special cases. They are however generally refused political rights as that of voting at elections, whether parliamentary or municipal, and of exercising public functions, civil or military. Hall says 'it is not permissible to enrol aliens, except with their own consent, in a force intended to be used for ordinary national or political objects. They are subject to taxation equally with nationals and in other respects their assimilation to the latter has made great progress.

Jus Soli.—Historically nationality arose out of allegiance. It was on birth on the soil, *Jus Soli*, that the character of a natural born subject primarily depended. Allegiance was due to the king from all persons born on land within his dominions, or on board the ship.

Jus Sanguinis.—*Jus Sanguinis* (descent or parentage) was another source of allegiance. If the father was a national, his issues would be. *Jus Sanguinis* enlarged not the choice of the individual but the grasp of the state.

In a conflict between these two principles the same person may be claimed by two countries, one on the ground of *Jus Soli*, and the other on the ground of *Jus Sanguinis*.

British and Indian nationality.—The British Parliament has enacted the rules of nationality in force in India. The Indian Legislature is not empowered to change them. British nationa-

can be acquired by birth on British territory and by marriage with a British subject and in certain cases by descent from a person of British nationality. It can also be acquired by naturalisation under the Act of 1914. It gives the status of a British subject throughout the British Empire. In India this provision is operative. By the Act of 1925 grant of naturalisation is made to certain persons. Such nationality is valid in British India and the Indian states. All these nationals are given British protection in foreign countries.

Aliens in India. Aliens in India owe temporary allegiance to the crown and are entitled to the protection of Indian laws and are triable in the same manner as natural born or naturalised subjects. They are not prohibited from the ownership of real property in India. Only minor discriminations are introduced against them in respect of membership of local authorities.

Subjects of Indian States. Subjects of Indian states have for all foreign purposes to be treated as British subjects. But they are not British subjects as their territory is not strictly speaking British. Their government is different. Thus they do not enjoy the general rights of British subjects and they are not included under that term unless expressly done by an Act.

They can be naturalised according to the British Indian Naturalisation Act. Nevertheless loyalty to the British Sovereign is required from them as fully as British subjects. Foreign Jurisdiction Act (1890) gives British protection to them in foreign countries. Therefore for the purposes of international law they are all British subjects. The differences of citizenship within India have no significance in it.

European British Subjects. -The Racial Distinction Committee (1922) recommended that no British subject could be tried by a second class or third class magistrate or by a first class magistrate who was not a justice of the peace or a district or presidency magistrate or a European British subject and that Europeans were entitled to claim trial by a jury of which not less than a half would be Europeans or Americans. The jurisdiction of judges and the extent of punishment were to be limited. They were to be given more extensive Habeas Corpus privileges, and more appellate rights in criminal cases. Terms of security for good behaviour were not to be applied to them.

Still their position is much higher from the point of citizenship than that of the Indians. There are discriminations made in their favour in public services, rights of suffrage and repre-

actors on the basis of a certain minimum of life be a number of laws called economic, industrial, educational, health and moral, and social and police legislation. There is, however, a general curb on these sorts of personality that it must not go against the moral, legal and fundamental organisation of society. In case it does then it loses its protective rights and state exercises its authority in checking any transgression which takes place. The state possesses certain rights which enable it to execute its authoritative and protective functions.

They are

1. A right to obedience to all the law, civil and criminal.
2. A right to taxes or to obedience to revenue laws.
3. A right to expect constitutional and not revolutionary method on the part of the public through the ordinary institutions and of expressing opinions about and exercising control over the acts of the government.

4. A right to compulsory military service in case of a foreign danger to or revolution within the state.

5. A general right to allegiance and service of the state, and not to disturb public peace.

Declaration of fundamental rights.—European and American constitutions in modern times contain a declaration of fundamental rights of man along with other principles of state organisation. A state is only one society of the whole community of the people. There are other religious and economic societies. But the character of the work of the state brings it into contact with every individual as its purpose is protection of citizens and therefore their regulation, coordination, control and coercion for the peace and order of society on the basis of which other communal activities depend and progress. But the state in doing its political work often encroaches on other aspects and spheres of communal life such as religious, moral, economic or personal and uses its socially sanctioned political power to destroy or to disturb the liberties of other groups or non-political aspects of life. It also transgresses the purpose for which it came into existence and was organised. Instead of giving protection and safety to the individuals it tyrannises over them who are the normal citizens and takes all their liberties, political, civil, social or religious. It becomes in such a case what ~~Aristotle~~ called a perverted form. In the past not only has it confused its real function with others but has perverted their aims in its own selfish interests. In modern

times every state has gone beyond its real and original function and has assumed charge of other functions or has dominated the direction of those functions which are in the hands of other groups. Therefore in the interests of man and his community, his non-political life and personal freedom, a scheme of fundamental rights declared to be untransgressable by the government are included in the political constitution of a country. It is a sort of written Dharma which cannot be broken. It forms the fundamental basis of man's communal life. It recognises the necessities which make man social and therefore assures him liberties or rights which are prime conditions of that life.

Certain basic principles.—There are certain basic principles on the recognition of which by any system of law and government depends the existence of civilised states. They are the principles of democracy in whatever form may it be organised. The first is that the political power, that is, law and government, originates from the people and its forms and institutions arranged in a constitution are sanctioned or created by them and the executive is responsible to legislature. The second is that the rule of law will always prevail and no arbitrary, or extra-legal and extra-judicial powers will be claimed or created by the executive. The third is that all citizens are equal in the eye of law. There will be no racial, religious, or birth and wealth privileges in public matters. The fourth is that the state is for the people and not the people for the state. It has no independent aim higher than the interests of the people. It is a means though an important means towards an end. And lastly the holders of powers are just as amenable to the injunctions of ordinary law as the common citizens themselves. There are no extra privileges or immunities assigned to them. They are liable for their acts while in office or power.

A declaration of these principles makes the people conscious of their power and position. We shall examine the position and prevalence of some of these rights in India. We must remember however the every right claimed has also a duty or restriction attached to it, namely, that it should not hurt others, infringe accepted standards of morality or public order, and must be of the nature of doing good or achieving the end.

Infringement of civil rights in India.—Many of the civil rights of a citizen are laid down in the civil and the criminal laws of his country. In India the executive government has imposed certain restrictions or assumed certain extra-legal powers within or without those laws which are not in the nature of any regular

principles or procedure but in that of racial character and arbitrariness. They encroach upon some of the fundamental rights of citizens as regards his person, property or liberty. Government uses ordinances and regulations, old or new, in normal as well as abnormal times which give it exceptional powers. The government is not popular and responsible and its methods of law making are arbitrary and unrecognised by the people, therefore the liberty of person is not well protected. Any person can be arrested without any proper cause shown, and detained and imprisoned without any regular judicial trial. There is no Habeas Corpus for India as a whole. Government is both the prosecutor and the judge. See Regulations like that of 1818 (Regulation III of Beagal), and Governor-General's extraordinary powers of law or ordinance making. The liberty of free movement is checked even within the British Empire and also sometimes in India by a mere executive order. In the first there is a racial, economic and political question; in the other it is purely a political one.

Liberty of conscience and worship.—There is a general freedom of conscience and worship. The Act of 1856 did away with disabilities on the change of religion. But there is an indirect pressure felt in the compulsory attendance at religious classes by non-Christians in missionary schools. There is no conscience clause exempting students from these classes. These schools receive large government aids.

Racialism in public services.—Though the Charter Act of 1833 recognised the admissibility of all, irrespective of religion, place of birth, descent or colour, to any public office, still it has not been fully given scope to. Europeans are favoured and employed to a very large extent in higher posts. Merit and the right of Indians alone should really count. But the government still employs public servants on the principle of race, percentage and proportion.

Right of public meeting.—The Criminal Procedure Code (sec. 127—132) lays down a number of restrictions on the holding of public meeting in India. There is also the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911. It is in the hands of the executive power to use their provisions without any judicial check, to declare any public meeting as unlawful or to prohibit the holding of any meeting for a period of six months in any area. No reasons may be assigned for such a step. No court can try the legality of the order.

Right of association.—Similarly the Part II of the Criminal Amendment Act (1908) gives the executive power to

declare any association as unlawful. No proceedings can be held in a court of law about it. Punishments are awarded also by the executive.

The 144 section of the Criminal Procedure Code gives an absolute power to the executive to prevent any act which it thinks is likely to disturb public tranquility.

Taxation without representation.—All these and other extraordinary executive powers are supposed to be exercised for the safety, tranquility or interests of India. They have been used for levying taxes without the consent of the Legislature. Land revenue is fixed, altered and collected by the executive alone. Civil courts cannot try their legality.

Punitive Police.—The imposition of punitive police by the executive on any locality where innocents also suffer is too barbarous to be mentioned. There is no remedy against an unjust order in a court of law.

Executive interference.—Then there are a number of restrictions imposed by the administrative rules of various departments, such as education and forest, on the liberty of the people in which the courts cannot interfere. In fact the separation of the judiciary and the executive functions and the control of the judiciary in matters of liberties and rights over the executive have been the demands of the Indian National Congress and the public men from a very early period. But the government has turned a deaf ear to it. Even the new Reforms did not make any changes in these most important constitutional liberties.

Liberty of speech and writing.—The liberty of speech and writing is necessarily controlled by the laws of libel, slander or defamation (I. P. C. secs 499, , 502), sedition (sec. 124), and Press Acts. Liberty does not mean license or abuse, but then the restraint imposed must be reasonable. Then liberty of religious practices or conscience is also checked by considerations of higher morality. Immoral or indecent practices are not allowed, nor the blasphemy of other religions (I. P. C. sec. 298).

Liberty of combination.—The liberty of combination or association is generally checked in the interests of the general stability of the state, by the law of sedition or the law of offences against the State (I. P. C. secs. 121—130), and by the law of offences against Public Tranquility (I. P. C. secs. 141—160). The provisions of these sections are severer in India than in other advanced countries because there is the feeling of suspicion and distrust between the rulers and the ruled.

in the past resisted the supremacy of the state and actually rebelled in the interests of higher principles of life., There are also pacifists who are against any war and who refuse to agree to and who resist its laws of compulsory conscription.

Doctrine of resistance.—But in countries where there is an indigenous tyranny or a foreign rule and the government is an irresponsible autocracy, or where there are invidious distinctions between one class of citizens and others, the doctrine of resistance has a great moral basis. Whether that resistance should be active or passive is a problem for moralists as well as politicians. It would depend upon certain principles of violence or non-violence in one case and on certain necessities of the situation in the other. But resistance will be advocated. In India the advocates of both the schools have been found : Mahatma Gandhi and revolutionaries who believed in their separate methods from the point of view of certain principles, and the moderates as well as nationalists or swarajists who developed their policies from utilitarian or circumstantial considerations. Gandhi's passive resistance movement in South Africa, and civil disobedience movement in India were advocated from higher points of view, namely, the equality of human rights, and the people's right to rule themselves. The state in India has not admitted any of these claims, but it compels complete obedience to its laws whether they are consented to or recognised by the people or not. It rejoices in its foreign character and its superiority and advocates its right to rule India according to its own wishes. In India political conditions are abnormal. But in normal states the right of the state to obedience to its laws is based on the necessities of social order, and progress. Disobedience or resistance will destroy the public order and the habit of obedience on which largely the smooth working and welfare of the community ultimately depends.

Habit of obedience.—There must be a general habit of obedience to the laws of the country. But laws are to be changed by a constitutional agitation or education of the people. Revolution or resistance is an extreme medicine for a state. It should not become its daily bread. The balance of evil and disorder would be greater in a state habituated to disobedience or resistance. Therefore in the larger and ultimate interests of social order and progress it is to be resorted to in extreme cases when every other remedy is tried and no other peaceful remedy is available. Resistance can never be legal but can be only moral. To the resisters the state is not the whole community and the law is not the whole morality. They are merely parts

of them and are likely in many instances to go against the interests of the community and higher morality. Here arises what is called a conflict of loyalties and it is very difficult to decide in favour of one set of doctrines irrespective of the particular circumstances of the conflict.

Right to vote.—The right to vote is confined to very few at present in India. Only thirty five millions are entitled to vote all over the country. There was no direct election till 1920 to the Central or Provincial Legislatures. It was only in the new Reform Act of 1919 that a direct electorate was created for all the bodies. The vote is confined to tax-payers of a certain amount in various provinces. There are both rural and urban constituencies. There is no right to universal suffrage. However there was a very pressing demand for it made before the Simon Commission of constitutional inquiry. The responsible parties and their representatives in India have also demanded it. At present there are communal separate electorates. Most of them are willing to give it up in favour of a joint general electorate with a very few general safeguards if a scheme of universal suffrage were adopted. Both males and females are to be allowed the right to vote after a certain age. This would ensure a sufficient a representation for every important minority in India. No representation in excess of their numbers or any weightage in representation is to be allowed. Population is to be the basis of representation.

Redistribution of provinces and cultural autonomy.—Minorities are claiming certain other rights or adjustments in India and one of them is the right to cultural autonomy largely expressed in the demand for the distribution of provinces linguistically. A general demand for redistribution of provinces has been going on from the time of the Partition of Bengal in 1905. Just as Bengal did not want its cultural homogeneity to be destroyed, so Behar and Orissa, each of them wanted to assert it in a separate province for themselves. This cultural differentiation is a very broad fact of Indian life and is manifested in the separate languages, literatures, life, and history of the ten or twelve provinces of which India is composed. Under this impulse Orissa, Karnataka, Andhra, Maharastra, Sind and others are claiming a unification of their divided parts and a creation of separate administrative provinces on a linguistic basis. In the case of Sind the demand for separation came largely from Muslims and therefore it had a communal colouring, but ultimately it could be traced to the feeling or desire for cultural autonomy or protection. There is publicly nobody's religion

in danger in India except the harm caused by surreptitious or forcible attempts at conversion, but none of them are sanctioned by the state. Leading men of India have accepted the need of a redistribution of provinces on the following principles. The main considerations put forward are a regard for the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. Geographical, economic and financial considerations are also to be noted in dealing with this problem in order that the provinces may become self-supporting in matters of provincial administration. The present distribution is not based on any principle but on historical accidents of conquest and contiguity. It is not even an administrative measure of efficiency. The adoption of the principle of a redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis will make the working of democracy real when the public proceedings and public activity, higher education and culture will be carried in the language of the people, and according to the wishes of a homogeneous community. Otherwise democracy in the real sense expressing the voice of the people will not be able to take a active part in the political affairs of their province. The Indian National Congress recognised this fact about eight years ago when Congress provinces were organised on a linguistic basis. These provinces are not small. They contain a population varying from one crore to five or six crores each. It would be a tyranny to impose a new language on them. Democracy in such a case is an impossibility. The people are not responsible for the maintenance of the present system of heterogeneous provinces. If there are more languages in one province it is due to a bad distribution of territory.

Liberty of the Press and its value.—The liberty of the press is a great asset in modern states. It makes the working of democratic institutions possible by spreading knowledge about home and foreign public affairs, and by educating the people in various ways as citizens and individuals. Of course like every other human institution it is liable to be misused. But the balance in its favour is far greater. It has roused and maintained their national consciousness and patriotism, broadened their sympathies and outlook and familiarised them with other countries in the world. In India its importance is greater when people have no democratic institutions which would really control governmental policy and measures. Therefore it becomes the duty of the press to criticise them and to expand the views and wishes of the people in connection with them. It is also a great necessity from the point of view of popular education and guidance. There cannot be any over-emphasis on the freedom

of the press in India. But in India the power and position of the press have been very restricted. There is no real freedom of the Press. It is looked down upon with suspicion and distrust by the Government and is controlled in various ways. The press in India has played a great part in evoking national consciousness and spreading national sentiment. Its growth is only checked by the fact of a large illiteracy in India.

Munro on Free Press and Foreign Rule.—Sir Thomas Munro in 1822 in a minute pointed out the "Danger of a free Press in India." It was considered to be a serious danger to British rule. Munro says British rule is not possible with a free press as the ruled are not his own countrymen. A free press and the dominion of the strangers are quite incompatible and cannot long exist together. A free press would sooner or later advocate deliverance of the country from foreign yoke. It would spread amongst the people principles of liberty. Therefore it could not be left free with any regard to the safety of the rulers. A licentious press would undermine all respect for European character and authority among the Indians. Such were Munro's views and he advocated restrictions on the press by having a censor and the power of deporting. The Court of Directors accepted his views by stating that a free press was only proper in a country having a representative constitution. India has not and cannot have it.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's views and representations.—On the contrary Raja Ram Mohan Roy asserted that it was only the freedom of the press representing unredressed grievances or errors and injustice in an irresponsible system of government committed by its servants that can check a sudden revolution and make a gradual reform possible. The grounds of discontent then do not go deep. He also emphasized the advantages of diffusion of knowledge amongst and consequent improvement of the people. He asserted that free press does not mean only bringing the government into contempt or hatred. It had valuable functions to perform of spreading enlightenment and desire for knowledge, order and peace, toleration and good government. India cannot improve or progress without a free press. Therefore it must be maintained.

The provisions of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 were very severe. It required the printer or the publisher of a paper to enter into a bond not to print or publish anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection towards the Government or anti-
between persons of different races, castes, religions or

sects and not to use such paper for extortion. The amount of this bond was to be deposited in money or securities at the order of the magistrate. The deposit may be forfeited after a warning by the Executive. If any one submitted his writing to an officer appointed by the government before publication no bond was demanded. The Act also empowered the local government to seize seditious books, pamphlets, etc., and to prohibit their circulation.

Repeal of the Act of 1878.—In this Act every action was taken by the Executive, and no judicial court was allowed to try its legality. But there being strong opposition to the Act it was not much enforced and in 1881 Lord Ripon got it repealed, stating that circumstances no longer justified the Act. On the contrary Sir William Hunter stated on behalf of the government, "For after all, it was the chief organ of representation in India, and never before was so serious a desire evinced by the government to give representative institutions a fair trial. The Indian Press was a Parliament always in session, and to which every native was eligible who had anything to say that was worthy of being heard." and "now it could not be denied that the action of a Free Press among densely ignorant masses was attended with some peril. But the only true remedy for the dangers of popular ignorance was the spread of popular education."

Statutory new restrictions.—After the severe plague policy and Rand murder (1897) in Poona the government introduced changes in the law affecting the press in 1898. They amended the sections 124A and 505 of Indian Penal Code and introduced a new section 102 of Criminal Procedure Code. These related to sedition, enmity and disaffection, and personal security proceedings. They aroused the greatest opposition in the public and in the Imperial Council. But no heed was paid to it. Powers were given to District Magistrates and the Magistrates of the first class which were formerly possessed only by Session Courts. Thus prosecutors became the real judges of the charges made. "To bring or to attempt to bring into hatred or contempt the Government of India established by the law" was made a crime by the amendment of 124A. Securities for good behaviour were authorised for any seditious matter and any matter punishable under 153 A (which related to hatred or enmity between classes) and other matters.

In 1908 came the Newspapers (Incitement to offences) Act. It was designed to prevent incitements to murder and

of offences committed by newspapers. It sanctioned the forfeiture of a printing press. On the magisterial order of forfeiture no further declaration by the press was allowed. This piece of legislation came immediately after the revolutionary attempt in the Muzaffarpur murder (1908). The Partition had led to the rise of an extremist movement, and strong expressions of political opinions. Lord Minto said "India is not ripe for complete freedom of the press." He pointed to the desirability of a general Press Act which was passed in 1910 by Lord Hardinge's government in the new Councils under the Morley Reforms. Though the people's representative spoke vehemently against its provisions they (except two) quietly voted for the Bill. Lord Sinha had piloted the Bill as the Law Member. It demanded a security to be deposited from every keeper of the press. It was to be forfeited in case any of the offences mentioned in section 4 of the Press Act was committed. The section was enormously wide and could make impossible any free expression of honest and reasonable opinion or criticism about government matters. It could bring under its force any matter or writing good, or bad, and call it incitement to offences even by implication against the government and its measures and servants. Similar provisions were made against newspapers. After the forfeiture, a fresh declaration and a fresh security were demanded. Even the printing press was forfeited. Some powers of control were also given to Customs officers and Postal authorities.

The orders under the Act were purely executive. There was no appeal against them. The Press Act (1910) was very freely used till it was repealed in the first Legislative Assembly in 1923 under the new reforms.

Restrictions on the liberty of the Press in India.—The laws affecting the press and restricting its activity and free printing and expression of opinion are however still many and complicated. There are ordinary laws, such as those of sedition, libel, blasphemy and contempt of court which also affect the press. But there are also special laws which are in operation against the press at the present moment and affect its working. They are (1) The Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931 as amended by the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1932, and the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1934. (2) the States' Protection Act of 1934, (3) the Princes Protection Act of 1932 and (4) the Foreign Relations Act of 1932.

The Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931 is an act wide against the publication of matters inciting to or en-

couraging murder on violence. The criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1932 however changed its scope to one for 'the better control of the press.' This gave enormous power of control over the press to the executive without any defined limits. It increased the scope of offences and added to their list and removed them from the ordinary law of the land, from the ordinary courts and from the ordinary legal procedure. The offences were not to be tried in the regular way in ordinary course under the ordinary legal procedure. Judicial procedure and judicial decision were substituted by executive action. The States' Protection Act (1934) also amended the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931 by creating new offences. It has made punishable the bringing into hatred or contempt of exciting disaffection towards the administration established in any state in India. It has also adopted special executive procedure in place of ordinary judicial procedure.

The Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1934 has by its press clauses still further extended the list of offences. It prohibits the publication of certain news tending to excite sympathy with or secure adherents to the terrorist movement under the orders of local government.

The Foreign Relations Act of 1932 makes punishable the publication of any matter defamatory of a ruler of a state outside or adjoining India or of the consort or son or principal minister of such ruler and tending to prejudice the maintenance of friendly relations between His Majesty's government and the government of such state.

The characteristics of the new Press laws are (1) taking of security from a new press at the discretion of the magistrate, (2) substituting executive action for judicial decision in a long series of offences created by the new special laws, (3) making the clauses too wide and thus rendering appeals largely infructuous, (4) depriving the High Court of its appellate right of jurisdiction in revising the order of the magistrate in regard to the amount of the securities and (5) making punishments severe and forfeitures drastic.

As a consequence of these acts a strong censorship has resulted on the proceedings of the law courts or legislative bodies being published in newspapers. Statements and speeches made there are not allowed to be published, and if made are punished at the instance of the executive. Thus there is no privilege given to the press in publishing these proceedings of the law courts and legislative assemblies. In England no action is maintain-

The present report is fair and is published without malice. The public and the press must have an elementary right of free expression. The publication which do not contravene the ordinary law of the land. If they misuse it they must be tried in regular courts and in a regular procedure.

These press (emergency powers) acts should terminate as soon as possible in the interests of our citizenship rights and public welfare. There should be liberty of the press in our country, which means liberty of speech and every kind of liberty social, political, religious and economic. The Indian Press has however, to keep constantly in mind two sections in the Indian Penal Code. One is section 124 A dealing with sedition and the other is 153 A relating to incitement of disaffection between different sections of various communities. Under 124 A, the Government is the judge as to whether it is brought into contempt or ridicule. Therefore the stronger the agitation is for self-government the greater is the number of prosecutions for sedition and the greater the truth, the greater the libel for the purpose of sedition, and the more truthful a person is in the statement of "improper acts" of the government, the greater the penalty are incurred under section 124 A. Besides these restrictions on the press, there are the Sea Customs Acts and the Post Office Acts which interfere in the circulation of printed matter in the country.

4. OUR LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Its objects.—Local Self-Government creates civic spirit and consciousness and voting capacity. It is a training in democratic forms of government. Consequently the Central or Provincial governments have allocated some powers of administration to localities, such as villages, towns, cities, districts and sub-districts, so that the people in those localities may learn to manage and to control some affairs of local administration, and thus to acquire an experience in the art of self-government to a limited extent. India possessed this system of local self-government in villages and towns from very ancient times. Many of the public functions were managed by them without any interference from the Central Government in their Grama-panchayats and Nagarasabhas. Since the British rule came to be established a new form of self-government based on elective principle has been established in cities and towns, districts and sub-districts, and now in villages. Municipalities and Local Boards have come to be instituted in some places and later

on these institutions have been extended to other towns and localities. The system of government adopted in the beginning was more official and less popular, more or less as a state department. But gradually the powers have been handed over to the people. Villages which were deprived of their self-governing powers are now getting them back in accordance with the recommendations of the Montagu Reforms in the form of new village panchayats.

Lord Ripon's Resolution.—It was Lord Ripon in 1882 who laid down the principles of local self-government on the basis of decentralisation with the aim of creating a greater association of the people in the tasks and responsibilities of a civilised administration and also of developing an instrument of political and popular education. These were to be the small beginnings of an independent political life in India, which while giving experience would result gradually in greater efficiency in administrative powers and tact. The Resolution of Lord Ripon was embodied in Local Self-Government Acts of 1883-1885. But their provisions were drafted in a conservative or retrograde spirit by the Provincial governments. Official control in the shape of nominated or official chairmen and of large nominations of members remained. The Collector's sanction was necessary in many matters. He could interfere in a number of them. The principle of election was however introduced.

Decentralisation Commission.—In 1910 the Decentralisation Commission recommended a substantial elected majority and an elected chairman and the giving of more powers and more liberty in their work, because upto then the system had worked mainly as a state department. There was very little genuine popular interest created in these bodies because of the great official control. The Decentralisation Commission endorsed this fact. Later on Lord Hardinge's Government in 1915 published a Resolution on Local Self-government. It recommended elected majorities and non-official presidents and greater freedom in regard to taxation, framing of budgets and control over establishments, etc. It was however left to the Montford report to make the bold recommendation that "there should be as far as possible complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control."

Resolution of 1918.—A Resolution relating to Local Self-government was issued by the Government of India in 1918 recommending a gradual removal of all unnecessary official

control, election majorities, elected chairman in various places, lowering of franchise and other changes. Local Self-government Department is now under the charge of a minister in every province. Consequently new Local Self-government Acts on more popular lines of extended franchise, elected majorities and chairmen, and wider powers have been passed. A revival of old Panchayats has taken place under Village Panchayat Acts with definite powers and functions in judicial matters, sanitation and public health.

Local-Self government in British India is carried on by four different kinds of organisations, namely, Urban Municipalities, Local Boards in rural areas, Village Panchayats, and Port Trusts.

Municipal government. The unit of self-government in urban areas is the municipality. The corporations of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras have been organised each under a separate act and each with its own definite powers and privileges. There are 728 municipalities in British India to day, varying in size. Generally speaking 14 p. c. of the urban population possesses municipal franchise. There is now a majority of elected members.

Municipal functions. The municipal functions may be divided into (1) obligatory and (2) optional. They relate to public safety, health, convenience and instruction. The obligatory functions are lighting, watering and cleansing of public streets, extinguishing fires, water supply, removing obstruction, registering births and deaths, public vaccination, maintaining public hospitals, and dispensaries, providing medical relief, maintaining primary schools, providing special medical aid and accommodation for the sick in time of the outbreak of dangerous diseases, and adopting measures to suppress and prevent the recurrence of the diseases. Optional functions relate to constructing and maintaining public works, gardens, libraries, museums, asylums, dharmashalas, roadside trees etc.

Municipal Finance.—The sources of municipal finance are fourfold. (1) Taxes on trade, such as octroi duties, terminal taxes and tolls, (2) Taxes on property, such as houses and their sites, (3) Taxes on persons, carrying on professions, trades, and callings, on pilgrims, menials, domestic servants, and (4) fees and licenses. Fees are levied for specific services rendered, such as scavenging fees and for purposes of regulation such as licenses for music, vehicles, dogs and other animals.

The Provincial governments have the ultimate power of superseding, suspending or abolishing a municipality. They

can compel the appointment of health officers and engineers. They can also intervene in the administration if it affects human life, health, safety or public tranquillity.

Cantonments.—Cantonments are areas outside municipal administrative limits. They are administered by elected cantonment boards with official presidents and are under the final control of the Army Department of the Government of India.

District and Taluk Boards.—District and Taluk Boards carry on similar work in rural areas. The majority of members are elected on a franchise which is 3.2 p. c. of the population. Communal electorates are also provided for Muhammadans. The government uses the power of nomination to secure representation for other minorities. They elect their own chairmen. Their functions are similar to those of municipalities and the government exercises similar powers of control and intervention.

Taluk or circle boards exist in all provinces except in the Punjab and the United Provinces. They are subordinate to district boards. They are mainly composed of elected members and as a rule elect their own chairmen. There are 207 district boards and 584 subordinate boards throughout British India. Their main source of income is a tax or cess on the annual value of the land. There are taxes on professional men and tolls on vehicles. There are also government grants. Their principal objects of expenditure are education, civil works, such as roads, bridges, tanks, and medical relief.

Village Panchayats.—The old autonomy of the village disappeared owing to the establishment of local civil and criminal courts, new revenue and political organisation, and rapid and easy means of communication. The village panchayats and their corporate spirit decayed in consequence of the policy of administrative centralisation. Instead of work for the common good there developed feuds and factionousness. The village functionaries, the headman, the accountant and the watchman, are now paid by and responsible to the central government.

The Decentralisation Commission of 1910 recommended the creation of village panchayats. The Government of India in 1915 laid down certain guiding principles. The Resolution on Local Self-government of 1918 laid special emphasis on the need of developing the corporate life of the village as a step to the growth of self-governing institutions. New Village Panchayat Acts and village uplift movement have helped the village awakening. Village panchayats are set up under special Village Panchayat Acts after 1919. The village panchayat or

union board is an attempt to develop self-government in the village. It has jurisdiction over a village or a group of villages. Its chief function is to look after such matters as sanitation, wells, minor roads, schools, dispensaries. In some provinces it deals with petty criminal and civil cases.

Except in the United Provinces their members are almost elected. But their progress is slow and not satisfactory, because villages have lost their old organic unity and vitality under the pressure of the British revenue, judicial and police administration. There is also in some places mental apathy, want of character, intelligence and literacy, and presence of caste and communal feelings and class jealousies of powerful landlords. There is a great protective, curative and constructive work by government necessary in villages for the success of panchayats.

Post Trusts.—The Post Trusts are managed by boards of commissioners and are controlled by the Government of India.

Condition of Local Government.—The progress of local self-government has not been satisfactory. There is no efficient and trained staff. There is a lack of public spirit and active civic character amongst people and elected members, and therefore a misuse of power for selfish or corrupt purposes. There are also communal and sectional differences. Their resources are also limited.

5. INDIANISATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES.

Act of 1833 and Proclamation of 1858. Indianisation of higher Public Services of comparatively superior responsibility and emoluments has been the cry of Indians for a very long time. The Act of 1833 removed the bar of religion, place of birth, descent or colour, in the holding of any office or employment under the Company. The Act of 1853 and the Proclamation of 1858 threw open all posts to British citizens of whatever race or creed. But the competitive examination instituted in 1853 which was to qualify them for these Covenanted posts was held in England according to the Indian Service Act of 1861. The posts were scheduled. As a consequence till 1871 only one Indian had succeeded in getting into the service. The conditions about age and the place of examination were rigid. Thus though it was laid down that no Indian was to be excluded from any government post in India still the higher posts were reserved for those who competed under the above conditions. thus 'breaking to the heart the words of promise uttered to the

ear' in the famous words of Lord Lytton (1878). The Act of 1870 recognised the expediency of creating "additional facilities for the employment of natives of proved merit and ability" in some of the posts reserved for the Covenanted Service.

Statutory Civil Service Regulations.—But the actual rules came into existence after much pressure in 1879 in the form of Statutory Civil Service Regulations. The appointments which were to be one-sixth were to be made for ten years. Candidates being recruited in India by nomination. It did not prove a success. The government was not serious and trustful about it. During 1879-1889 only 60 Indians were appointed.

Aitcheson Commission.—In 1886 a Public Service Commission was appointed under the presidentship of Sir Charles Aitcheson. It recommended the division of services into Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate branches. To the Indian Civil Service were to be appointed by the Secretary of State only those who competed in the Civil Service Examination in England. The Commission refused to accept the suggestion of the holding of simultaneous examinations both in England and India. The one-sixth number of posts which were reserved for Statutory Civil Service according to 1879 Rules were to be filled from the Provincial Civil Service posts in India by nomination and promotion. From the very first (1885) the Indian National Congress pressed for simultaneous examinations of the I. C. S. to be held in India, and the raising of the age of the candidate. The House of Commons passed a resolution in 1893 recommending the holding of simultaneous examinations. But the Government of India did not carry it out. The Aitcheson Commission's recommendations were put in force in 1895 and continued for a long time till 1912. Sir John Strachey wrote "Let there be no hypocrisy about our intention to keep in the hands of our own people those executive posts and there are not very many of them, on which, and on our political and military power, our actual hold of the country depends." Roughly there was one Indian for every ten Englishmen appointed for higher posts. This state was very unsatisfactory. On account of the increase of the work of administration in the shape of new functions and increased activities new services were created to administer specialised departments. They related to public works, agriculture, education, posts and telegraphs. police, jails, public health, civil hospitals, forest, survey of India. These services are also divided in three grades, Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate.

Islington Commission.—In 1912, a Public Service Commission was appointed under the presidency of Lord Islington in which Mr. G. K. Gokhale was a member. It made its recommendations in 1915, but the report was published in 1917 owing to the Great War which started in 1914. By that time its recommendations had lost their value and become obsolete owing to the new atmosphere of political ideals and national demands. It had recommended three classes of services, and the reservation of certain higher posts in security departments to Englishmen and in the remaining services the percentage of Indians to be fixed. Its assumption was that the British responsibility for India requires a preponderating proportion of British officers in the security services.

Montford Report.—But the Declaration of August 1917, and the Montford recommendations gave a new turn to the question of the Indianisation of public services. It was declared that "policy of His Majesty's government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India." Excluding the appointment of one executive councillor in the Central Government and one each in the Provincial Governments after Morley Reforms in 1910, no opportunities of dealing with the difficulties of administration and day to day details of business were given to Indians. Responsible government would be impossible without people's taking a greater part in the public services. Therefore the Montford Report recommended an increasing proportion of Indians in the services which were to be substantially Indian in personnel. The attempt was to be made to maintain "the qualities of courage, leadership, decision, fixity of purpose, detached judgement and integrity." But there was expressed no desire to do away with the British element in the services. In some services and even as a whole its presence was considered essential and desirable. But all distinctions based on race were to be removed from the service regulations. 33 per cent of the superior posts were to be recruited in India and this percentage was to be increased by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent annually till a new commission examined the problem again. A number of recommendations in favour of higher pay, pension, leave, expatriation allowances to European services were made. It was definitely stated "we are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of services: we are seeking to make the Indian people self-govern-

ing. To this end we believe that the continued presence of the English officer is vital, and we intend to act on that belief." A permanent Public Service Commission of more than five persons was appointed to recruit and control the public services in India. The interests of Europeans in the Civil Services were regulated and protected in matter of service, pay and allowance, discipline and conduct by the Secretary of State.

The government of India Act of 1919 enacted that every person in the Civil Service of the Crown in India held office during His Majesty's pleasure and that no person might be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed. Rights of redress and appeal were given to him.

Lee Commission.—In 1924 the Lee Commission was appointed to consider the position and grievances of Indian Civil Servants after the Reforms. Its recommendations were opposed by the Legislative Assembly, but were carried out by the Government. It tried to protect their interests, recommended higher pays, allowances, pensions, travelling expenses and conditions of service. The proportion of Indians and Europeans in the I. C. S. was fixed to be equal. The increase in pay and pensions amounted to one crore and a half. It also provided that the Secretary of State in Council should continue to appoint and control the All-India officers of only four services, namely the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Irrigation Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers, and the Indian Forest Service (outside Bombay and Burma), while as regards services like the Indian Educational, Agricultural, Veterinary, Forest and Engineering (Roads and building branches), their recruitment on an All-India basis should be stopped and they should be made provincial and placed under the control of ministers.

As regards the Indian Medical Service the Royal Commission on superior services in India recommended that every province should appoint in its medical department a certain number of officers lent from the medical department of the army in India.

The Indian Civil Service is to be half Indian and half British by 1939 and similarly the Indian Police Service by 1949.

The I. C. S.—The Indian Civil Service consists of about 1,000 men who are responsible for the general direction and control of the civil administration. A selected few become governors, or members of the Executive Councils, or secretaries to govern-

ment departments, or judges of High Courts and District or Sessions Courts. Majority of them are engaged in district work, magisterial, revenue, judicial etc. They also are taken in the Political Department service as officers, residents, representatives, agents.

The government has introduced partially a system of nominations in it since 1936.

The I. M. S.—The Indian Medical Service performs a twofold function. It is primarily a military service, as a reserve of medical officers for the Indian army in time of war. It is also engaged in civil and medical work. Its officers serve as civil surgeons in districts and hold charge of hospitals and medical colleges. It was formerly recruited by open competitive examination. It is now filled by nomination.

The I. P. S.—The Indian Police Service consists of 685 men who control a force of 1,98,000 men. The British element consists of 584 of the higher officers and of about 800 police sergeants. Upto 1905 it was recruited entirely from England. As a result of the Lee Commission it will have 251 Indians and 434 British by the end of 1939, and a half-and-half ratio by 1949.

The Survey of India Services.—The Survey of India includes services connected with scientific and other research, such as the Botanical Survey, the Geological Survey, the Archaeological Survey, Meteorological Survey and the Survey of India (Trigonometrical Survey). They all employ a superior staff, which consists of trained and scientific men in various branches.

Recommendations of Simon Commission.—The Simon Commission recommended that the "security services," namely, the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service should continue to be recruited upon an All-India basis by the Secretary of State. He was to regulate their appointments and the number of posts reserved for them in provinces, and to safeguard their rights and prospects. The White Paper's recommendations were on the same lines and were embodied in the Act of 1935.

The Indian public opinion has been keen in protesting against the predominant British element in the higher services, its abnormally high scales of pay, pension, and allowances, and its privileges or safeguards under responsible government.

The problem of public service in India is its Indianisation, reduction in its emoluments, its efficiency, integrity, and competitive recruitment, the adequate representation of

minorities, and its responsibility, privileges and safeguards. In all these matters there is a lot of improvement and reform necessary.

Higher Services and the Act of 1935.—But under the Act of 1935 the Secretary of State has still the power of making appointments to the I. C. S., the I. M. S. (Civil) and the I. P. S. He can also appoint to any other service if he thinks it necessary to do so. He makes rules regarding the scales of their pay, leave, pensions, etc. The governor-general or governor decides in his individual judgement matters about their promotion, suspension, punishment or censure. They can appeal to the Secretary of State. Their salaries and allowances are non-votable. The control over all the defence services vests in His Majesty in Council and the Secretary of State.

Public Service Commissions.—There are Public Service Commissions provided by the Act, one for the Federation and one for each province or more. Their chairmen and members are appointed by the governor-general or governors as the case may be in their discretion.

Their functions are to hold examinations for appointments to the civil services and to make appointments and to lay down rules for recruitment, promotions, transfers and other disciplinary matters. To day the position of the Indianisation of services remains as it was created by the Lee Commission. Still the English element dominates.

6. INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY.

The character of the Army.—Every citizen must defend his country against foreign invasion. He must train himself for it. Otherwise he is not a real citizen. But not only it is a duty or obligation but it becomes a right if one is prevented from doing so. The right to carry arms and to join the army on an equal right with others is a valued privilege of every citizen. But in India this right is denied, and this duty is not allowed to be discharged. The British rulers deny both the right and duty of Indians to defend their own country. The main basis of the Indian Army and Navy of defence is considered to be British soldier and sailor. The Indian section is more or less auxiliary, and recruited and placed on a mercenary basis and not a patriotic basis. Into this army only certain sections or classes are admitted as recruits or soldiers. The Government ultimately relies on British troops for peace and order as it understands

them. British Indian Army and Navy are organised as a wing or a part of the Imperial Military organisation. No doubt it is an efficient organisation, but it has no place in a Swaraj government. Dominion Status involves a full control of the Dominion Army. It means an Indian Army officered by Indians and controlled by the Dominion Government of India. Otherwise self-government would be an unreality and an impossibility, if the army which is one of the chief arms and bases of the state, were to remain in foreign hands and under foreign control for a long time.

Right of Indians neglected.—The process of Indianisation of the army has been very much neglected. But now the process toward self-government has begun and therefore we expect a rapid Indianisation of the Army and its control by the Dominion Government of India. Even now the control over the Indian Army consisting of the British and Indian sections can be transferred to Indian Government and a new expert council or committee of defence be created for advice and guidance, attached to a Cabinet member representing the defence portfolio in the Central Government of India. The powers of the Indian Legislature in the matter of defence are nil as regards expenditure, policy or organisation. The government has very reluctantly admitted the eight units scheme. They have rejected the sound and advanced proposals of the Sir Andrew Skeen Committee (1927) about rapid Indianisation. The government does not seem to be serious about Indianisation, and on the other hand we want to be self-contained in military matters. But it must be made clear that the grant of responsible government to the colonies did not depend in the past on the capacity of the dominions to maintain internal peace and order or to protect themselves against foreign invasion. However India must prepare herself to take over the defence of the country as early as possible.

Imperial interference and control.—There is a general interference made by the military authorities in England. They are reluctant to give greater freedom to the Government of India. The Fisher Committee of 1919 observed "we are not prepared to give evidence of the continued reluctance of the Indian Government to relinquish into the hands of the Government of India the administration of the army, even in the high command, could be done without compromising the problem of purity in military policy. We are strongly of opinion that the Government of India should be allowed to the competitive recruitment".

Governor-General in Council and the Commander-in-chief in India in matters affecting internal military Administration." Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas who was a member of Lord Inchcape's Committee on Retrenchment of military expenditure in 1922 observed "this interference of the Secretary of State is not confined to questions of Imperial interests or to broad lines of policy, but extends to such administrative details as the comforts of British soldiers or the emoluments of officers."

Subordination of civil to military authorities.—There is a sort of complete subordination of the civil to military authorities in India, and of both to the War office and the Committee of Imperial Defence in England, while on the contrary we want the civil authority in India to dominate the military authorities. There should be no outside interference in our scheme of defence and military policy. Montford Report clearly states the government's ideas on the subject "the responsibility for India's defence is the ultimate burden which rests on the Government of India, and it is the last duty of all which can be committed to inexperienced or unskilful hands. So long as India depends for her internal and external security upon the army and navy of the United Kingdom, the measure of self-determination which she enjoys must be inevitably limited. We cannot think that Parliament would consent to the employment of British arms in support of a policy over which it had no control and of which it might disapprove. The defence of India is an imperial question; and for this reason the government of India must retain both the power and means of discharging its responsibilities for the defence of the country and to the Empire as a whole." But who stands in the way of our acquiring experience and skill of military matters? No attempt was made to train Indians till late to officer the Indian armies and now the attempt is very half-hearted and distrustful under a false plea of want of proper men. Skeen Committee of 1927 has shown the falsity of such allegations, but its sound recommendations of greater and rapid Indianisation have been obstinately rejected, and what it has condemned has been approved and followed.

Preferential treatment of some classes and races.—There was always preference shown in the past in the arms' rules to "every European or East Indian subject of His Majesty." This was the privilege of possessing ordinary sporting arms and ammunition without a license. Then although there was no statutory prohibition on the enrolment of Indians in the volunteer force, only a small number of Christians were admitted as members of the volunteer corps and other Indians were in prac-

the generally not enrolled. Again Indians were denied the right to bear arms in defence of their country and were excluded from the commissioned ranks of the army. About the creation of a citizen army there was no thought till after the Great War. Now there is the Indian Territorial Force Act passed in 1920. Before it was passed the Indians were fully disarmed by the Arms Act of 1878 under Lytton's Viceroyalty.

Indians disarmed.—This new act is supposed to create a second line of defence and a citizen army and evoke a spirit of self defence and military life amongst the people. Until now the general manhood of the country has been refused military training. The people who came with a citizen spirit were disallowed. The nation as a whole was completely disarmed as stated above in 1878 when the crown assumed the title of Kaiser-i-Hind or the Emperor of India. Foreign communities, Anglo-Indians, Eurasians, Christians and others because of their race, religion and anti-national outlook were freely given licenses to carry and to use arms as a precaution against any rising of the people. The Indian portion of the army has been largely recruited from frontier tribes, from Nepal and from the Punjab. They were officially called "martial races." The Indian soldier so recruited is not given education in higher military warfare, tactics and leadership as a commissioned officer, nor in patriotism or intelligent citizenship. He is carefully guarded from national sympathies. He has no cause to fight. He is a mere servant obeying a master without any other consciousness behind.

India's right and India's peril.—Such soulless mercenary army can not be a substitute for a national army which is a necessity in a fully responsible India. It must become a self-contained and self-organised unit of the national government. All its wings from submarines to aeroplanes and methods of warfare must be fully equipped by and known to Indians. Only our self-government will become a reality. Britain away our military initiative. It must now hand it back to us by training our defence forces rapidly. This involves a transition period, but extreme slowness based on distrust or false ideas of people's incapacity cannot give us a real national army. The whole of Asia is now nationally armed with a citizen spirit and with modern weapons and methods of warfare, manufactories of arms and munitions and schools and colleges for higher military training and science. We alone in Asia are compelled to remain unarmed, unequipped, and unscientific in this atmosphere of a new Asia and a military Europe. Even

our fiercer neighbours with warring and encroaching spirit have armed themselves fully. Who knows what will again be our fate? England is responsible for this condition. These are no sentimental considerations but hard facts of our modern political environment. The questions which arise are not of loyalty or disloyalty but of safety and security of our own selves. Britain will not be able to protect us against fully and efficiently armed and strong Asia. We deny her exclusive right to do it. This is our peril. There is going to be a fight of Asia or Japan against Britain's Empire in Asia. These new Asiatic armies are being fully trained and equipped by Europeans themselves. India can save herself only as a nation in arms strong and confident of herself. Military life must become a part of her life and not remain as a taboo and only in the hands of a foreign few like a religious superstition. All people must take their share in it on an equal basis without the maintenance of any prejudices and privileges, and any caste or communal divisions.

Present strength and organisation.—The present strength of the army in India is roughly British ranks, 66,000 combatants; Indian ranks, 1,38,000 combatants; Indian state forces, 27,000. The cost of a British soldier (Rs. 2,500) is about four times the cost of an Indian soldier (Rs. 650). After the mutiny the British Army in India was included in the Imperial British Army.

Peel Commission, 1859.—The army was reorganised in 1861 according to the recommendations of the Royal Commission known as the Peel Commission (1859). The British element was increased, artillery was kept in the hands of Europeans, and the caste and communal jealousies were maintained. The distinction between martial and non-martial races was created, and the corps were reconstituted on class company basis and not on mixed basis.

Eden Commission 1879.—In 1879 the Commission on Indian Army reorganisation called Eden Commission was appointed. Its most important recommendation to abolish presidency armies and to unify control and organisation was carried out in 1895, when four territorial commands each under a lieutenant general were organised. Lord Kitchner divided Indian army into three army corps, northern, western and eastern and ten divisional commands. But the command system was abolished in 1907, and India was divided into two army spheres the northern and southern.

Curzon and Kitchener controversy.—During Lord Curzon's viceroyalty an important change took place in the army ad-

administration. From 1861 the military member of the Viceroy's Council was an officer through whom the supreme control of the government of India over the troops was exercised. He presided over the military department and was the constitutional adviser of the viceroy on army questions. The commander-in-chief who was responsible for promotion, discipline and movement of troops was appointed as extraordinary member of the Council and occupied a rank next to that of the Viceroy and thus superior to that of the military member. This led to a conflict between the military secretariat and the army headquarters. The commander-in-chief had to bring his proposals to the Council through the military member, an officer of lower rank. Lord Kitchener was against this system, while Lord Curzon supported it, for he did not want to give up the supremacy of civil power and its need of independent military advice. The Secretary of State proposed a way out of the difficulty by placing under the control of a military officer (who was to be an ordinary member of the Council) certain branches of army administration, such as provisions, clothing, ordinance, medical stores. But the appointment of the officer created difficulties and Lord Curzon resigned in 1905.

All the defence forces are under the commander-in-chief who is also now the army member of the governor general's executive council.

In 1897 the army reserve system was adopted. In 1921 the army was reorganised and strengthened, and additions of air forces, mechanical transport, and manufactories of arms and munitions were made. The Indian Army Air Force came into existence in 1922. The great demand of Indians is for the rapid Indianisation of commissioned ranks of the regular army. There are two main categories of officers in the Indian army, one holding the Viceroy's commission and the other the King's commission. The former have a limited status and power of command. They are mostly promoted from the ranks. Indians are appointed to them. But before the war no Indians were appointed to the King's commission. They are now (since 1918) granted to Indians who qualify themselves as cadets in the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, Woolwich and Cranwell. An Indian must pass through Sandhurst in order to obtain a full military career on terms of absolute equality with the British officers. Forty two vacancies in all are now reserved for Indians. There has been a demand for an Indian Sandhurst from the Legislative Assembly. The government appointed a committee in 1925 under Sir Andrew Skeen to inquire into

improving the present supply of Indian candidates for the King's commission and into the desirability and practicability of establishing a military college in India to train Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. Its report was published in 1927. But its recommendations were rejected by the government.

The Indian army has two duties to perform, one is to protect India from foreign aggression, that is, of external defence, and the other is to secure peace within the country, that is internal security.

Observations of the Simon Commission.—The Simon Commission Report (1930) says that for a very long time to come it will be impossible to dispense with a considerable British element—troops of all arms, regimental officers and personnel in the higher command. The government considers the defence of India as a part of the Imperial question in which Empire communication, Empire trade and Empire strategy and power are involved. Therefore the issues are very vital to the imperial interests and it does not want to take any risk in nationalising the Indian Army, and in leaving the defence of India to an Indian army administered and directed by a popularly elected Indian government. Indians protest against this imperialist object and use. The necessity of a British element in the Indian army is also stated to be due to the need of frontier defence, internal security and obligations to Indian states.

All these needs have made the presence of British troops in India essential. They have however created a great obstacle in the path of India's progress towards self-government. A completely self-governing India must undertake its defence and control its armed forces, by creating a completely Indian national army. India is to-day far from that position.

Eight units scheme.—Eight units scheme was adopted for Indianisation as a beginning in 1923 at the initiation of Lord Rawlinson. Its object was that instead of drafting young Indian officers to all sections of the army, attention should be concentrated at first on the progressive Indianisation of eight units only. The government wanted to avoid young British subalterns from serving in subordination to Indian officers, and therefore deferred the Indianisation of the higher ranks of the army as a whole for an indefinite period, in spite of the recommendations of the Skeen Committee (1927) which were for the abandonment of the eight units scheme, and the provision of half the total cadre of king's commissioned officers in the Indian army.

by Indians by the year 1952, the establishment of Indian Sandhurst in 1933 and the opening of all branches to Indians. As a result of the Round Table Conference deliberations a new scheme of Indianisation was announced, in which a division of all corps in the Indian army was to be Indianised and the intake of officers in the military college in India was fixed at forty. The Indian military academy was opened at Dehra Dun in October 1932 and is doing the military training work of the Sandhurst type. Since then it is training Indians as officers for the army.

Classification of forces.—The Indian Army of to-day consists of (1) regular British forces, (2) regular Indian forces (3) auxiliary forces (30,000) (4) Indian territorial forces (22,000) (5) Indian Army reserves, and (6) Indian state forces and is divided into a field Army organised for foreign service, covering troops for maintaining order on the frontier and internal security troops which acted as a garrison. The Auxiliary force and the Territorial force came into existence in 1921. Under the Indian Territorial Force Act University Training Corps were organised in various parts of India to train the students in the principles and practice of military service along with developing a sense of discipline and an improved physique. Shee Committee of 1925 stated that the University Training Corps was to be considered as the foundation of the national army. Its primary object was to be educational. It was not only to be a training school in elementary military matters, but also the recognised recruiting ground for officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Indian Territorial force, and later also as a potential source of supply of candidates for commissions in the regular Indian army.

The army consists of Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Air force, Tank corps and other departments. There are some schools for training officers and units at different places, such as the Prince of Wales Royal Military College at Dehra Dun. The Royal Indian Navy is a branch of the Royal British Navy and controlled from Britain. From 1927 an independent Indian Navy unit is being created under a new Navy Act (1927). It is called the Royal Indian Marine. A number of Indians are recruited to it, and also in the Indian Air force.

The amount spent on the army is roughly from 55 to 60 crores of rupees every year, that is, a third of the revenues of India, central and provincial and a half of the central revenues. The Indian army must nationalise itself and be trained efficient-

ly within the next 10 to 15 years before any new war or contest of magnitude arises in Asia between the British and others. Such an event does not seem to be unlikely looking to the present political attitudes and tendencies of great military powers.

There is another great evil in the situation. We have hardly any manufactories of arms, munitions, equipment and stores, worth the name. Most of them are imported from England. Manufacture must now take place here.

India has suffered constantly from foreign invasions by way of land and sea because its arms and ammunition and its system of warfare remained antiquated. We must therefore be equipped in a most upto-date and scientific manner. As far as we know India is not fully prepared and equipped for land and air warfare in India, if its independence is threatened by a first class European or Asiatic power which happens to be also powerful on the sea.

7. INDIAN CITIZENS ABROAD.

There are now about 24 lakhs of Indians settled in the British Empire outside India. In the beginning unskilled labourers were taken to Fiji, Mauritius, Natal and other parts under a system of indenture, or to Ceylon and Malaya under some special system of recruitment. Later on there was an emigration of professional, commercial and artisan classes on their own account. In the early period the government paid little heed to the rights of Indians in colonies, though they encouraged their emigration under indenture. The differential and degrading treatment which they received and the wrongs they suffered form a heartrending chapter in Indian colonial history. They had no elementary civil, much less political rights of citizens. But the various struggles of the colonists especially under Gandhi's guidance and the agitation in India kept the problem to the forefront of Indian politics. The great war and Lord Hardinge's speech (1914) gave a new turn to the Imperial outlook. In 1916 the system of indentured labour was abolished. India's position has strengthened since the war. The problem of Indians in colonies, their emigrations and their civil and political rights came prominently before the Imperial Conferences and the Government of India was compelled to give up its policy of apathy. The new legislature passed in 1922 a new Emigration Act which proclaimed assisted emigration of unskilled labour to be unlawful except for such

countries and on such terms and conditions as may be specified by the Governor General-in-Council and approved by the Legislature. A Standing Emigration Committee composed of 12 members of the Legislature is appointed every year to advise the Government of India on all major emigration questions.

The Imperial Conferences from 1921 also tried to examine and clear the issues involved and some adjustments and understandings were tried to be arrived at. Indian settlers are denied the right of franchise, of immigration, and of domicile and the right to hold land, to enjoy trading facilities and to be exempted from compulsory segregation or repatriation. In 1918 the Imperial Conference passed the Reciprocity Resolution affirming the right of each community of the British Commonwealth to control by restrictions on immigration the composition of its own population. But for those who are actually settled there is neither municipal nor state franchise given. Wherever it is given there is a very inadequate system of representation. Indians claim equality of citizenship for those who are already settled in the Colonies. Now an agent for the Government of India is established for South Africa to promote Indian interests.

The character of India's political life, her civic and political problems, her various needs and aspirations have been discussed above. Every citizen will have to interest himself in all these problems of his country's all-sided life in order that he may help in solving them in the interests of his fellow citizens.

7. THE PROBLEM OF DOMINION STATES.

Dominion Status preferable and practicable.—From what we have discussed above relating to our present political position the problem of various communities and vested interests, foreign and indigenous, the problem of Indian States and their relations to the British Crown, the impossibility of armed revolt and its success, and the historical connection with the British Empire, its ideals and its system of rule make the Dominion system of Government a practicable proposition. Our difficulties and our necessities are so great that any revolution towards independence is likely to upset more the existing order and advance and create a new autocracy based on a fresh proof and assertion of military conquest or might than to create an Independent and United India. The Indian mentality to-day is not revolutionary but evolutionary, asking for adjustments and advances and not hankering after a new totally unconceived order and

freedom. The communal and caste movements of India show that the masses of the people do not look beyond the protection and interests of their castes and communities. They hardly contemplate of the severance of British connection. They rely upon the British for the security of their interests. Similarly do Indian Princes, landed and commercial classes, the utterances of responsible British statesmen and the Royal utterances, all favour connection with the British Empire. Therefore Dominion Status is the only practical aim and programme before us to be made immediately possible. It connotes in the words of the Imperial Conference of 1926 that the self-governing dominions of the British Empire (including Great Britain) are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of 'Nations.' This ideal was sanctioned in the pronouncement of August, 1917, in the Act of 1919, in the utterances of His Majesty the King-Emperor as "the beginning of Swaraj within my Empire," or "full responsible government hereafter" and "the right of her (India's) people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests." Professor Keith takes the same view. He said (1920) "they herald the time when India will possess full autonomy and will rank as an equal with Dominions and the United Kingdom itself as a member of the British Commonwealth." Lord Irwin's declaration of 1929 points to the same.

Its advantages.—There will also be a great advantage in entering this British Commonwealth of Nations, if India is admitted to that status as early as possible. The revolution in her status will be peaceful and she will not have to fight against encroaching foreign powers and disaffected or extraterritorial minorities who are always a danger in periods of transition and revolution.

To be allied with a great Nation and Empire like that of Great Britain in these times of aggressive powers and their alliances on terms of equality will be a distinct political and international advantage to India in her present state of weakness and helplessness. It would mean internal peace and safety from external aggressions. Even South African statesmen have realised the advantage of being in the Commonwealth when they got the Dominion Status. But if the Dominion Status is definitely refused or unnecessarily delayed, then it would be in our interests to work for independence. But the work, the sacrifice,

the preparation must be a thousand times harder and stronger than we show to-day. The selfishness, the lethargy, the want of endurance and tenacity which we show to-day can have no place or value in a country working for independence. The whole mentality and morality of our politics and worldly life will have to change before we can set ourselves properly on the path of independence. Dominion Status ensures the least disturbance of old mentality or morality. Independence expects a new fervour and ardour with new social and political values and ideals.

Imperial association and co-operation.—In the Colonial Conference of 1907 India was excluded from representation as an equal member, but since the great war the British tried to associate India in the work and consultation of Imperial Conferences and Imperial War Cabinet (1917) on a footing similar though not equal to that of the self-governing dominions. Before the war from 1887 to 1911 there were five Imperial Conferences to discuss problems of imperial interests. But during war closer cooperation became necessary for war purposes on terms of equality. There arose a desire amongst Dominions to have a body for continuous consultation in all important matters of common imperial concern. They demanded equal rights with Great Britain. General Smuts in 1917 put it "we are a system of states—a number of nations and states almost sovereign, almost independent who govern themselves, called the British Commonwealth of Nations." The suddenness of the war and the responsibilities and burdens it created on the sources, human and material, of the state forced the British self-governing Colonies to claim a share in the direction and control of the foreign policy of the Empire as equal partners with Great Britain. Questions of foreign policy and decisions of peace, war and alliance were vital questions to a state, and if it did not possess power or control over them the state had little of political freedom and status. Great Britain must therefore take them into her deliberation about these matters on a footing of equality. They suggested an Imperial Executive and Legislature responsible to all in dealing with these matters. This suggestion after a good deal of deliberations was not found feasible. The result has been that the Dominions have been allowed more independence in matters of foreign policy. The fact was recognised in the Imperial Conference of 1926. and by the Westminster Act of 1931.

In 1919 along with other Dominions India signed by herself the Treaty of Versailles, and became an original member

of the League of Nations along with other sovereign and self-governing countries.

India's Imperial status—After the war five Imperial Conferences of 1921, 1923, 1926, 1931 and 1936 were held. Indian representatives attended them regularly. A number of inter-imperial and international problems were dealt with. In 1931 the position of the dominions was defined. India however has not been included as she did not come under the definition, so long as her form of government is not changed into a Dominion form. But India is expected to reach the dominion form as soon as her internal conflicts of communities and states are adjusted. The appointment of a High Commissioner is done on the model of Dominions.

Dominion form of government is primarily of a federal and responsible or parliamentary type. There is not only a central federal government but also a local, state or provincial government. And in matters of government the executive is subordinate to the legislature and has full unlimited law-making powers. The British Parliament is legally sovereign and entitled to pass any law, but it has handed over all its powers to the Dominion Legislatures by acts embodying their whole constitution in them. The power of amendment of those constitutions is with the people, that is, the dominion legislatures. They initiate amendments which are formally passed by the British Parliament. The Governor-General is a mere representative of the Crown with powers of veto over legislation which are hardly exercised.

League of Nations. Its objects.—The League of Nations came into existence in 1920 after the war according to the Covenant which was accepted as an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles (1920). It is a growing institution. Its main object is "to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war." All disputes must be submitted to the Court of Arbitration, and no nation must start a war until three months after the Court has issued its award; any nation breaking this rule may be coerced by the economic pressure or armed intervention of other members of the League. The League has no force of its own to enforce its decisions. The League supports the theory of disarmament, but has been unable to come to a definite resolution on the same. Therefore there was very little disarmament except that of Germany and other defeated powers who were compelled to disarm.

Mandatory Theory.—The League has also created a theory and a system of mandates relating to territories conquered during the war in which the new administration and government are considered a trust and are to be exercised in the interests of the governed. They were handed over to selected nations who were held responsible to the League for promoting the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants.

Its additional work.—It also deals with a number of other matters, such as fair and humane conditions of labour regarding unemployment, hours of work, children's and women's labour etc., traffic in drugs and munitions, and in women and children, matters of international health and hygiene, namely, the prevention of disease and mitigation of suffering throughout the world, and also commerce.

Its members and organization.—At present it includes countries forming the British Commonwealth, India and all the States of the world excluding chiefly U. S. A., Germany, Japan and Italy. Its organisation is as follows:—

1. The Council consist of Great Britain, France, Russia and nine others chosen by the Assembly. It may deal with all matters with which the Assembly deals. Germany, Japan and Italy have now left it.
2. The Assembly is the general body consisting of representatives of all the members of the League. All independent nations and self-governing dominions are eligible. Each member is to have one vote. It may deal with any matter within its sphere or affecting the peace of the world.

In both the bodies there is to be generally a unanimity on any resolution.

3. A permanent Court of International Justice consists of eleven judges sitting at the Hague. Attendance before the court is voluntary.
4. A permanent Secretariate is located with its office at Geneva which is the official seat of the League.

It advocates open treaties in order to prevent secret diplomacy. All treaties between the members of the League are to be registered in the office of the League, and no treaty is considered to be binding until it has been so registered. The League of Nations creates a hope and a possibility of a citizenship of the world in time to come.

India and the League.—India though she is an original member of the League and bears an unduly large share in its expence has no real sovereign standing in International Law, because she is not independent or even equal to self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth. Its foreign policy just as its internal government is controlled by Great Britain. Therefore India's representation in the League is anomalous. Indian representation is always led by Britishers. Even here Great Britain does not allow India to enjoy the honour of her position. She has refused to accept the demand of the Indian legislature to allow Indians alone to lead and to compose the Indian representation.

CHAPTER XIII

Our Political Life

1. POLICY OF OUR BRITISH RULERS.

"For there are two parts of good government, one is the actual obedience of citizens to the laws, the other part is the goodness of the laws which they obey; they may obey bad laws as well as good."

"But when citizens at large administer the state for the common interest, the government is called a constitution."

—Aristotle.

General policy of our rulers.—Against the inherent antithesis between a foreign autocracy and the native subjects the British government followed a varied policy of keeping a strong, efficient and alert army, police and general executive; of disarmament of the people; of creating new vested commercial, landed, religious and service interests, foreign and native, attached to its established order and laws, owing their powers and privileges to it; of fostering a belief in the rulers' racial superiority and sense of justice and fairplay; of moulding and directing the whole educational aim, policy and system to strengthen this belief; of keeping a large number of powers of an executive nature in its hands to detain or to deport persons, to check presses, meetings, speeches; of following a severe repressive policy in case of opposition or agitation; and lastly of partial conciliation by adopting some measures of reform.

Control in their hands.—The army (reorganised after 1857), the police and the executive have been completely officered and controlled by the British. The people's right to carry arms has been taken away since 1878. The European commercial and capital interests, public services' interests, religious missionary interests, planters' interests, and the newly arisen orders and professions, the favoured classes and communities with their interests have always upheld autocracy of the government. English literature and English institutions have created a favourable impression on the minds of Indian scholars or literateurs about the British sense of liberty and justice. The State system and control of Indian education, manned by European heads, professors and directors have developed it to strengthen the British and to meet the government wants. The various old

Regulations of 1818 and other dates and various new acts relating to press, public meetings, speeches, etc., have been used by the executive or the ordinary courts to arrest, deport and detain persons without any trial and to sentence political opponents and agitators at all periods, and to curtail the freedom of the press, the freedom of speech, and the freedom of public meeting.

Some conciliatory measures, the Act of 1833.—The policy of large promises and partial conciliations has also been followed. If we leave aside the personal but irresponsible utterances of men like Munro, Metcalfe and Macaulay, and some pious expressions in the Company's Charter of 1833 such as "no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the company" the first great measure undertaken in 1833 was to provide the Governor-General's Council with one additional member whose function was to help the Council and to vote when it was legislating. Great emphasis was laid by the Directors upon the need of full inquiry, publication and deliberation in framing and enacting all laws. From this additional member grew the later legislatures of India and from them developed the custom and convention of the rule or supremacy of law and legal forms in India. And though the Executive still remains supreme and is the highest law-making body in the land, it is cloaked in its own legal forms which it would not break unless it changed them. It is as much bound by them as the public. The laws enacted may be sometimes unjust inequitable, racial or selfish but the forms of law and the supremacy of law are maintained. From the Governor-General downwards every executive or judicial action must rest on a basis of laws current at the time.

In the Act of 1853 there was thrown open formally the higher or Covenanted Civil Service to all subjects of the Crown, whether British or Indian, by a competitive examination.

Proclamation of 1858.—In 1858 Queen Victoria's Proclamation declared 'And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.' There were also a number of other provisions promising scrupulous maintenance of treaties and engagements with Native States, avoidance of wanton aggression,

maintenance of religious neutrality and non-interference, equal and impartial protection of the law to all; protection of ancient rights, customs and usages of India, finally declaring, "In their (subjects') prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward." The policy stated in this document has been gradually and very slowly, but with many lapses tried to be followed, though some Viceroys and Civil Servants have been opposed to it.

Local Self-Government measures (1882).—Then came the local Self-Government measures of lord Ripon (1882) as regards District and Taluk Boards and Municipalities. He meant them as a measure of political and popular education. But here again the devolution of responsibility on the elected representatives was very slow. The official and the nominated elements dominated, and the powers and functions of the local bodies were few till a considerable advance took place under the impetus of Montford reforms.

The Indian Councils Act of 1892.—The Indian Councils Act of 1892 introduced an elective element into the Legislature not by embodying the principle of election in the Act, but indirectly by regulations issued under the discretion of the Governor-General in Council. The principle of nomination of non-officials as additional members was already adopted by the Indian Council Act of 1861. The Indian National Congress since its inception in 1885 was every year (1885-1891) asking for representative institutions and legislatures with wider functions so as to get greater and more regular opportunities to state their grievances, and their view-points, to seek information, and to criticise and advise upon measures brought by Government. It also demanded that half the members of each legislature should be regularly elected representatives, that the annual budget should be regularly submitted to the legislatures and members should be allowed the right of interpellation. But not much heed was paid to these demands, and in the Act of 1892 very little was conceded. The Act enlarged the additional members, gave the right of interpellation and the right of discussing the annual financial statement, in which suggestions could be made. But the Councils, on the whole, were merely legislative committees of the government.

Indian Councils Act of 1909.—Then came the Monto (Morley-Minto) Reforms and the Indian Councils Act of 1909. This Act was due to the public agitation and demands made in India.

~ Congress had again asked for a further advance, and an en-

largement of representative institutions and for a real and larger control over the affairs of the country in 1904 and 1905, had demanded the system of government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies in 1906, emphasizing the necessity of a larger and truly effective representation of the people, and a larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country. But the public feelings as a whole as expressed throughout the country in the resolutions of Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education and in the extreme methods of revolution adopted in Bengal after the Partition (1905) had also its effect in showing the wishes and the angry temper of the people. Parliament under the influence of the great liberal Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy Lord Minto who had felt the force of popular feeling and discontent introduced a few changes in the constitution of India. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 enlarged the number of the members and the elected representative element, but introduced the harmful device of separate and disproportionate electorates on the basis of religion which was even then condemned by the Congress in 1909 and 1910. The Congress also strongly deprecated the extension of the principle of separate communal electorates to Municipalities and District Boards or other local bodies. Rules and Regulations made by the Government of India under the Act weakened the spirit and benefits of the Act. This Act definitely recognised that the "additional members" were to consist both of the nominated and the elected element. It also allowed the members to discuss the annual financial statement and any matter of general public interest, to propose resolutions on them and to divide upon them and to ask supplementary questions under prescribed conditions and restrictions. The resolutions however were to be recommended by an official majority was maintained in the Central Legislature and a non-official majority which included both the elected and nominated elements was kept in the Provincial Councils. But the representatives were not elected in a direct electorate but indirectly, some by the elected members of Councils, Municipalities, District and Taluk Boards, and others by landholders, Chambers of Commerce, Universities and Muslims. Thus the representative system adopted was very defective. It was sectional and communal, and not territorial or national. The official bloc and the nominated members together dominated in every council. The powers and functions of the Councils were merely deliberative, advisory, limited and critical. No

responsibility was given nor intended. The Executive dominated. Councils meant merely association of a number of people's representatives in the task of administration with the executive. Provincial Legislative Councils were in theory only an enlargement of the executive government for the purpose of law-making. The constitutional position of Indians in the Government of India, and the position of India in the Imperial fabric of the British Commonwealth were not as yet settled and laid down nor even envisaged. Lord Morley assured that he had no ambition to set up any sort of parliamentary system in India. Similar was the utterance of Lord Dufferin during his viceroyalty. He would liberalise reforms but there was to be no parliamentary system of Government. The President of the Congress (1906) had laid down Swaraj or self government as the goal of India on the same lines as Englishmen had in England. The Congress Resolution of 1906 asked that "the system of government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies should be extended to India." The Muslim League had also adopted in 1912 the goal of self-government on colonial lines within the British Empire.

Character of the Act.—But the Act of 1909 did not change the system of absolute government or autocracy in India. Indians were given merely opportunities to influence and to criticise but not to control. The people were to be associated with government in the decision of public questions more to ascertain the wants and feelings of the various communities for whose welfare it was responsible. One seat on the Governor General's Executive Council and one on each of the Provincial Executive Councils were at this time given to Indians, though this was not actually laid down in the Act. There was no new policy enunciated in the Act. It was merely an expansion or enlargement of the early principles that the executive should decide all questions finally. The Government was really a law-making executive, that is, a legislature, executive and even judicature in one. There was nothing of responsible institutions or separation of powers. But the Act of 1909 gave up the old conception of the Councils as mere legislative committees of the government and made them, as Montford report says, "serve the purpose of an inquest into the doings of Government by conceding the very important rights of discussing administrative matters and of cross-examining the Government on its replies to questions." Its franchises were however narrow and elections indirect (no connection between the primary voter and the elected representative) and based on separate interests and

classes. These did not encourage a feeling of responsibility in members to the people generally. The Executive remained wholly irresponsible.

Decentralisation Commission.—The Report of the Decentralisation Commission of 1910 recommended a series of measures with the object of relaxing the control of higher central authorities on provincial governments in matters of finance and administration, of simplifying their administrative methods and of developing Local-Self Government. The report dealt with the problems in the spirit of the Monto Reforms (1909) of Executive irresponsibility. The policy was centripetal not centrifugal. Still the central control was relaxed.

Royal Visit of 1911.—Then came the Royal Visit of 1911 declaring the reversal or modification of the Partition of Bengal and thus recognising the voice of the people as regards its own history, homogeneity and natural affinities and also admitting the ideal of provincial autonomy in a centralised India, though Lord Crewe repudiated the goal of colonial self-government for India. This has helped to create a view of a federated India of the future. Provincial autonomy could go only with a federal form of constitution. It moulded and crystallised the people's desire for linguistic provinces. The proposals about public services and local self-government as those of decentralisation were limited in their nature of Indianisation or democratisation by the fundamental principle of the British executive supremacy.

Lord Hardinge's utterance of 1914.—In relation to Indians in British Colonies Lord Hardinge's utterance in 1914 at Madras is important. He emphasized the rule of Reciprocity as the rule of relations between the colonies and India. It was an assertion of the equality of India with the self-governing colonies at least in theory, and unless the internal constitution and powers of India were broadened and the control of Britain was relaxed progress was not possible. Lord Hardinge's speech at Madras strongly criticised and protested against the positions of Indians in South Africa, sympathised with the passive resistance movement and condemned the Immigration Act (1913) as 'invidious and unjust.' This bold stand of the Viceroy in identifying himself with the interests and self-respect of India and protesting against a self-governing colony over the head of the Imperial Government was a recognition of India's individuality and status of equality by her ruling Governor-General.

of assent, veto and allowance of bills the power of certifying any legislation which he might feel necessary and which the legislature did not pass. Thus the central executive was not only not made responsible to the Indian Legislature but it possessed wide legislative powers of certification and ordinance, of suspending or dispensing with the normal law of the land and overriding the will of the legislature. The functions of government were completely divided into those relating to All-India or Central subjects and those relating to Provincial subjects.

The provinces were given unicameral legislative councils. They were elected majorities on a wider franchise than before but still contained an important nominated block of official and non-official members. The provincial executive was divided into two groups. The reserved portion, which included the subject of finance, law and order, remained under the control of the governor and his official executive councillors and was not responsible to the legislature. The 'Transferred' portion which included the welfare subjects of education, local self-government, sanitation and agriculture, were entrusted to elected ministers who were responsible to the legislature.

Besides, their normal powers of assent or veto and allowance of bills the governors were also given the power of 'certifying' any legislation like the governor general. Further there were declared to be some items votable and others non-votable by the legislature. The executive had full control over them. Thus the legislature remained the subordinate branch of government and the executive the dominant branch. The resolutions of the legislatures were merely recommendatory. There was however introduced an Indian element in executive councils.

In the system of franchise separate electorates for minority communities were introduced on the basis of the Lucknow pact (1916). A complete separation of central and provincial finances was made. A Public Service Commission was appointed to recruit and control public services in India. A decennial statutory commission was to be appointed to inquire into and to report on the working of the system of government and to make proposals to the British parliament for any amendment of the constitution if desirable. Complete popular government was to be introduced into local bodies. The Secretary of State's Council was remodelled and his control over the transferred half of the provincial government was relaxed. A High Commissioner, as an agent of the government of India,

established in London to look after commercial and other matters on its behalf.

Government's actual policy.—The nationalist opinion in the country was not satisfied with the nature of these reforms and the government's repressive policy and legislation. They wanted complete responsible government, and agitated for it. The government's mood and policy were also seen when it got passed two penal bills based on the recommendations of the Sedition Committee's Report (1918). They empowered special tribunals to try political cases without any normal procedure of juries or even pleaders. The provincial governments were given large powers of internment. Montagu's reforms were also whittled down by unsympathetic officials and a hostile parliament. The Punjab Martial Law and atrocities on unarmed peaceful people showed to what lengths repression on mere suspicion could go even when there was no pre-arranged mutiny or conspiracy. The government was elated with success in the great war and easily forgot the services which India had rendered.

His Majesty's message, 1921.—In 1921 on the occasion of the inauguration of the new central Legislature His Majesty's message was delivered in order to conciliate the disturbed public opinion. It stated that India had in the constitution the beginnings of Swaraj and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which the other dominions enjoy. The Instrument of Instructions to the governor-general (1921) also directed "above all things it is our will and pleasure that the plans made by our parliament for the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of our empire may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among our dominions."

Failure of Dyarchy.—The government however did not yield to the nationalist demand or change its policy. The Congress boycotted the elections to the new legislatures. But after Gandhi's imprisonment in 1922. The Swaraj party which came into existence entered the legislatures in 1924 under the leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das either to mend them or to end them. It was a policy of constitutional obstruction from within them. The machinery of dyarchy had begun to work. There was no effective popular control. The official executive councillors, the nominated legislature bloc, and the official control of finances, law and order and the communal groups made the position of independent popular ministers

impossible and their work ineffective. The government carried on the whole government in its own way. Thus the experiment and development of dyarchy ended.

In January 1924 a Labour Cabinet under Mr. Ramsay Macdonald came into office. It raised hopes of change. The appointment of a Committee of inquiry under Sir A. Muddiman to examine the working of Dyarchy in 1924 was considered as preparatory to an early change in the constitution. The Committee's report was out when the Conservatives again came into power by the end of the year. Lord Birkenhead became the Secretary of State for India. He did not like dyarchy. The Indian majority members held that dyarchy was unworkable. But nothing was done. The Congress for its part sponsored (1925) a national demand movement for a Round Table Conference whose business would be to draw up a constitution based on full Dominion Status.

Simon Commission 1927.—In 1927 Lord Birkenhead appointed the Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon to inquire into the working of the constitution under the Government of India Act (1919) and to suggest proposals for its amendment. He completely excluded Indians from its personnel. This led to the boycott of the Commission by Indians.

Lord Irwin's Declaration. 1929.—In 1929 a Labour ministry under Ramsay Macdonald came again into office. It led to a new orientation in the British policy towards Indian demands. Lord Irwin, who was then the Viceroy and who had gone to England, came back authorised to declare on behalf of His Majesty's government and to state clearly that, 'in their judgment, it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.' He also declared the holding of a Round Table Conference in England and invited Indian representatives to meet there representatives of the British Parliament to discuss and evolve a scheme of a new constitution for India. This idea was previously suggested by Sir John Simon in a letter (Oct. 1931) in the shape of some 'sort of Conference.'

Report and recommendations of Simon Commission, 1930.—The Simon Commission presented its report containing a survey and proposals on constitutional reforms in May 1930. The Simon Report wholly disregarded the depth and intensity of nationalist feeling. Its proposals were of a conservative character. Dyarchy was condemned but the provincial auto-

nomy which was suggested was carefully safeguarded by the special powers of the governor. Federation was proposed at the centre in order to facilitate in future the development of an All-India federation when Indian States would agree to join it. But there was no proposal for grant of any responsibility at the centre. The legislatures were to be based on a wide franchise and the official bloc was to disappear. Adequate safeguards for defence and peace, and for the interests of minorities were to be provided. But owing to the development of political events the report was shelved.

First Round Table Conference 1931.—The first Round Table Conference was held in London under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. It was attended by the representatives of the three British political parties, of Indian Princes, and of Indian political parties and communities. The Congress party however boycotted it. In the last plenary session of the Conference the Prime Minister made a declaration on behalf of the British government about the changes that were agreed to be proposed and to be introduced into the government of India. They were to the effect (1) that the responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, central and provincial, with reservations or safeguards during a period of transition to meet certain obligations and to protect the interests of minorities, (2) that the central government should be a federation of all India embracing both the Indian states and British provinces consisting of a bicameral legislature, (3) that the principle of responsibility of the executive to the legislature in the central government was to be recognised, but that the subjects of defence and external affairs would be reserved to the governor-general who would also have emergency powers to maintain tranquility to protect minorities, to insure the fulfilment of financial obligations incurred and to preserve unimpaired the financial stability and credit of India, (4) that provinces would be constituted on the basis of full responsibility, and the governor would be given minimum special powers to secure the preservation of tranquility and to guarantee the rights of public services and minorities, and (5) that there would be no discrimination against British mercantile community in India.

Second Round Table Conference. 1931.—After the Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931) the Congress accepted an All-India Federation, Central responsibility and safeguards in the interests of India on the basis of the new constitution. Then Gandhi attended September, 1931 the Second Round Table Conference on

behalf of the Congress. But by this time the National Government containing a large element of Conservatives had come into power. It adopted a stiff and unyielding attitude towards Congress demands. Its policy was not liberal. Therefore no definite and final conclusions were reached in this Conference. Its whole spirit and policy changed and no agreed solution was arrived at. States and minorities, feeling themselves encouraged became irreconcilable and demanded special protection and privileges. Hence in 1932 the prime minister published his 'communal award' as the communities failed to come to any agreement about communal claims. The part relating to the representation of depressed classes was however modified from a separate electorate basis to a joint electorate basis at the instance of Gandhi.

After the second Conference the Congress carried on a civil disobedience movement. It did not take any further part in conferences or consultative committees for constitution-making.

Third Round Table Conference 1932.—The Third Round Table Conference met in November 1932. It considered the reports of the various sub-committees and formulated its own proposals, and dispersed. His Majesty's government only agreed to give full consideration to the opinions expressed in the conference and to present to parliament their own definite proposals for constitutional reform in India.

The White Paper 1933.—In 1933 March the British government proposals were published in the form of a 'White Paper' and submitted to Parliament which set up a Joint Select Committee to consider these proposals in consultation with Indian representatives. On its report the draft of the Government of India Bill was made. It was passed as the Government of India Act in 1935. In all these later stages of constitution-making stricter provision was made for safeguards regarding imperial, commercial, financial and communal interests and less attention was paid to the grant of responsibility to legislatures. There was no attempt made after the Congress withdrawal to win Indian support or interest. There was no concession made to Indian demands for some control in matters of military and civil services. The British government was more interested in appeasing the conservative and commercial opinion in England and completely disregarded the Indian opinion during the later stages, and decided many points against its advice and protests.

Its proposals.—The White Paper proposals included an All-India Federation—a union between governor's autonomous provinces, commissioner's provinces and Indian States acceding to the Federation by a formal instrument of accession and the separation of Burma.

The Government of India Act 1935.—The Joint Select Committee approved of this scheme and presented its report in October 1934. It emphasized still more the necessity of safeguards. Thus was evolved the Government of India Act of 1935. The government apologists say that the government was right in pursuing what had always been the dual policy of maintaining law and order and of building a progressive constitution.

Lord Zetland says that the Conference was not a constituent body charged with the task of drafting a constitution, but a gathering of Indians and Englishmen called into consultation with the object of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement on the proposal which the government would eventually have to lay before parliament. It was merely the question of ascertaining and noting the general sense of the conference.

Its main principles.—Three problems arose before the conference. In the first place, how were the autocratically governed Indian States to form a part of the democratic federation and their internal powers safeguarded? In the second, how were the interests and claims of minorities to be safeguarded and adjusted in a democratic government? In the third, how were the sovereignty of the British Parliament, and the British financial obligations and commercial interests to be safeguarded and maintained in a system of responsible government? Reservations, safeguards, special or emergency powers were all meant to meet these important questions. It was thought necessary that a strong and stable government should be in control at the centre and that adjustments and safeguards should be laid down for dispelling the fears and securing the cooperation of the Indian States, communal minorities and British political, commercial and financial interests before a full system of responsible government could be made to work in India.

Safeguards were intended to secure the stability of the Federation, internally and externally, during its early years, the protection of the interests and demands of minorities which distrusted the working of rigid democracy, and the guarantee of British connection and the British vested interests acquired and liabilities incurred in India, which feared the nationalist opposition acquiring power and expropriating them, and the

assurance of Indian States' internal sovereignty and British paramountcy.

Therefore the fundamental problems of defence and foreign affairs were left in the hands of the Viceroy. The paramountcy over the Indian States was to remain in the Crown. Their internal sovereignty was to be assured by an instrument of accession. The governor-general and governors were to be given wide emergency powers and special responsibilities in connection with maintenance of peace and order, and safeguarding the rights of minorities under communal award and British commercial and financial interests by preventing commercial discrimination or financial repudiation.

Aims of British policy.—The British policy in India since the national awakening is claimed by them to be the maintenance of law and order which involved repression of radical and revolutionary movements and the promotion of constitutional and administrative reforms which involved conciliation of moderate and communal opinion. Repression has often resulted in the promulgation of drastic ordinances as during the civil disobedience movement (1931-1934) which have replaced the ordinary processes of law, legal procedure and courts in dealing with political agitation. Conciliation has given us a number of British Commissions and Committees, and three Round Table Conferences which have created the present Government of India Act (1935).

New ordinances or old regulations bar the jurisdiction of ordinary judicial authority and processes, and supersede the civic laws of the country. The close alliance of the police and magistracy is dangerous to the civic liberty of the people engaged in political work. The legislatures have no final control over the executive or the services. The press is largely muzzled. There is no complete rule of law and therefore no protection of civic rights and liberties.

Two British conceptions control or debar the grant of full responsible government to India. One is that India must remain an integral part of the British Empire. The other is that she is unable to defend herself and to rule herself because she is inexperienced and incapable. Therefore it follows as a corollary that her defence and order must be in the hands of the British Parliament and its representatives. They are imperial responsibilities. Therefore the measure of responsible government in India must be limited and controlled. Indians protest against both these propositions and do not accept them.

2. POLICY OF OUR INDIAN RULERS.

Indian States have been brought within the constitutional and political orbit and structure of a new and united India. They will take a proper place in the federal India. The whole attempt of the Indian history has been to create a united India politically, though local jurisdictions and autonomies were allowed. The allegiance was to be to one throne. The British people succeeded in establishing this legal sovereignty over the whole of India including the Indian states. Most of the present Indian states are creations of conquests or are due to encroachments in the 18th and 19th century after the decline of the Marathas and Moghuls. India is really one whole in fact and in law.

Their interests common with the rest of India.—These states are spread throughout and intermixed with other parts in India. Their extent and members are large, forming nearly one-half of the country and one-fourth of the population (about eight crores). Their people are culturally, linguistically, ethnically, historically, economically and religiously the same as in the neighbouring provinces of British India. Their systems of government though here and there are modified to suit the new Indian environment are still personal and irresponsible despotisms, benevolent and malevolent. There is no such thing as a constitution and respect for forms of law. Very few of them are enlightened in their conceptions of people's welfare. But the new forces, economic, cultural, political and educational have forged new bonds between the various parts of India as a whole. The new ideals democratic, national, and international have created new sympathies and desires for new political systems. If the people's wishes are to dominate in the new constitution of India, the Indian states must come under the federation of India. The government of British India being autocratic and in the hands of the Governor-General Indian states did not raise the question of sharing in the control and regulation of matters common to the whole country, they themselves being controlled politically by the Governor-General himself, but now when there seems to be a possibility of the control in these matters being transferred to the people's representatives in British India in view of the coming changes in the constitution of India, the Indian states have raised a number of claims and questions regarding their relations to British India which are of a very great constitutional importance to the future of India as a whole.

Indian States and British Crown.—The relations of the states as a whole with the British Crown are very difficult to

define. They have various elements in their composition, such as feudal, imperial and protective. In practice the British Crown possesses the right of suzerainty over all of them. An inherent right of interference and an unlimited right of authority are claimed and asserted by it. The States have no confederal right of secession nor a federal right of an appeal in disputed cases of jurisdiction or interference to an independent judiciary or supreme court. States can not be called feudal because many existed before the growth of the British Power and only contracted alliances or treaties with it on an equal but bilateral protective basis. But the military strength and success everywhere of the British, their distrust of the remaining states which were not conquered, and their desire for the political security of their Empire in India made them encroach on the powers of the states on one pretext or another and bring about new changes or concessions based on new agreements. At present the relations can only be described vaguely as imperial. There is no single idea except that of British supremacy and dominance which regulates them. The old treaties or alliances have been partly superseded by a numerous growth of new customs and controls in their later relations with the British. All the rights and privileges of states were not directly derived from the British power in the beginning. Montford Report says that "the policy of the British Government towards the states has changed from time to time, passing from the original plan of non-intervention in all matters beyond its own ring-fence to the policy of 'subordinate isolation' initiated by Lord Hastings; which in its own turn gave way before the existing conception of the relation between the states and the government of India, which may be described as one of union and co-operation on their part with the paramount power. In spite of the varieties and complexities of treaties, engagements, and sanads, the general position as regards the rights and abilities of the Native States can be summed up in a few words. The States are guaranteed security from without; the paramount power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other states, and it intervenes when the internal peace of the territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the states' relations to foreign powers are those of the paramount power; they share the obligation for the common defence, and they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories."

Proclamation of 1858.—The policy of absorption and annexation of Indian States was given up after the year 1858 when in

the Proclamation it was stated, "we desire no extension of our present territorial possession :.....we shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as our own."

Indian states which are 562 in all can be classified as follows.—

Indian states classified.—1. Those possessing full and absolute sovereignty within their states according to treaties under the policy of subsidiary alliance. The treaties were of mutual friendship and reciprocal obligation.

2. Those over whom there is a supervisory jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters and legislative power exercised according to treaties. There is a right of interference. The treaties are of subordinate co-operation.

3. Those who owe their rights and privileges to imperial grants or sanads.

All these states are legally prohibited from private wars, and foreign relations, and have their armaments limited. Lord Reading in 1926 stated that it was the right and privilege of the paramount power to decide all disputes that may arise between states or between one of the states and itself, and also to interfere in internal matters, in matters of imperial interests or the general welfare of the people, and to take remedial actions.

There have been often stated some points in favour of the existence of these states. They are as follows:—

(1) That they are the only self-governing portions of India with some military powers and that there has been a number of good rulers and administrators who had opportunities to exercise and to show to the utmost of their ability their political powers.

(2) That they have preserved and promoted the educational, cultural and artistic interests of India.

(3) That old forms of local self-government and administration have been maintained by them.

These points are not very creditable as they look. In many states there is no constitution or constitutional rule. There is no fixed law and procedure, civil or criminal. In all the ruler's will still dominates. Consequently there is no stability of public law or sanctity of public opinion. The Montford Report says :—"They are in all stages of development, patriarchal, feudal, or more advanced, while in a few states are found the beginnings of representative institutions.

Their real character.—The characteristic features of all of them, however, including the most advanced, are the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice." The people have hardly any share or representation in the government, much less any control over the executive. Very few Princes have introduced advisory legislative councils but even then their successors' sanction can not be guaranteed. Rulers spend as much money as they like and there is no spirit of reform actuating them. The forms of local self-government are nominal. The executive will, control and interference dominate. Many of the famous prime ministers or other officers have come from British India. States have not served in any way as a model in modern times either by way of good rule or promotion and protection of Indian culture and art.

On the contrary the whole atmosphere is one of stagnation in most cases. Past and present instances of rulers of great states show that Princes indulge in extreme forms of luxury which are anything but moral and use all the public wealth and power of the state in satisfying personal whims and vices, and not in the promotion of people's interest.

The rulers and the ruled.—The British Government having assured them personal protection from within and from without, the old bond between the people and the prince of mutual dependence for loyalty and protection has disappeared. A bad ruler is now not afraid of the revolt of his subjects and his consequent deposition. If he pleases the British Resident or the Political Department, he can never lose his throne. There is no fear of the people in his mind. He can oppress them as long as the suzerain power does not feel itself called on to intervene in the interests of the ruled. He treats his state as an estate. The ruled have no rights guaranteed either by the ruler or the paramount power. There are no such things as citizen's rights recognised by law and enforced by courts. But the greatest objections against the states are firstly that they are not alive to the spirit of democracy and parliamentary system of government and secondly that they are an obstacle in the path of India's developing as an united and self-governing unit with a well-laid federal type of constitution. To them the ideas of Indian nationalism and responsible government do not appeal. But the world influences and forces are against them. Their own people are awakening to political consciousness and demanding representative and responsible institutions and the surrounding

puts are full of these experiments partial and advanced. The common bonds of the people, their common culture and aspirations have been strengthened by an increase in communications and intercourse and a common system of education.

Their intimate relations with British India and British Empire—Indian States came in to a greater contact and association with the British India and the British Empire since the War. The old political isolation was broken down in face of common need for a common effort. They supplied arms and ammunition, men and materials to fight in the war. Many borrowings of ideas, laws, officers, systems, financial, educational and technical advice were, however, constantly taking place before. Some matters relating to customs, tariffs, posts, railways, commerce, were jointly arranged but there was no such political endeavour of India as a whole to pursue a common policy in the past. This led to a desire to have a common policy as regards those items, such as defence, tariffs, exchange, opium, salt, railways, posts, telegraphs, in which Indian States were also interested. In matters of peace, order and defence there is an identity of interests which is recognised by the Princes. The result has been the evolution of a Chamber of Princes (1921) under the scheme of Montford Report which meets now and then to deal with these and other matters. In 1917 their claim for representation in the meeting of the Imperial Conference and the War Cabinet, but only as representing India and not themselves, was recognised and allowed. They went as representatives and put forward a joint view-point in connection with Indian matters.

Character of old Treaties.—Treaties with Indian States before 1813 were treaties of defensive alliance such as with Hyderabad. Treaties of 1813 were treaties of feudatory nature or subordinate isolation in which ruler's powers were much curtailed. After 1857 all the States were declared to be the "protected feudatories to the Crown of England" which was proclaimed to be the paramount power in all India. There was to be no annexation, but only interference for the sake of good government. Lord Mayo stated that "if we support you in your power, we expect in return good government, justice and order, property, person and people to be secure, and beneficent activities to be carried on." Legally the British Crown inherits the rights of the Company which were ultimately its own and after 1857 those of the Moghul Emperor. In 1876 it assumed the title of Kaiser-i-Hind and made all the Princes to acknowledge it at the Darbar of 1877, in spite of Nizam's

and others' protests. Thus even the Treaty States have now no rights against the paramount power. They owe them to it or derive them from it. Thus they have become an integral part of India and have no right of independence, secession or isolation. Nepal and Afghanistan refused to come to the Darbar of 1877, and they are now independent states recognised by other sovereign states. Afghanistan has her own foreign policy and embassy.

The uneasiness of the Princes.—The uneasiness of the Indian rulers is based on the uncertainty of their position. This is due to two facts. Firstly, the rights of trusteeship and interference claimed and adopted by the British government do not assure them of the rights of sovereignty or independence in full which some of them think they possess under the treaties. But the interpretation of treaties has been changed under subsequent and different conditions. And new forces and new interpretations have created a body of case law and political practice around the treaties, imposing new restrictions, sanctioning new interferences and establishing new practices. The Princes fear that these new customs, conventions and precedents will ultimately curtail their rights, and they do not know their exact position even to-day. The Government in order to steady their uneasiness and to remove their fears established a Chamber of Princes where many of the matters relating to Princes are considered and adjusted so that they possess now an assurance that they will be consulted in the future about their interests and rights. Secondly, the progress of Indians in their political aspirations towards Swaraj, their adoption of the principles of responsible or parliamentary government, their agitation and perseverance in suffering for it, the statutory Simon Commission (1928) and a further instalment of reforms in the nature of Federation and Dominion status, and consequently the fear of the loss of their privileges or rights, the uncertainty of their future inside their states because of their own people's awakening and outside their states in relation to British India and British Government have all contributed to their awakening and they are getting examined and restated their position in the British Empire and in India in relation to the Central Government. The Butler Committee (1927) before which a large number of Princes stated their case examined the nature of their claims and demands and the constitutional position between them and the Government of India, and stated its findings.

Paramount power.—According to them the Paramount power means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State

for India and the Governor-General in Council who are responsible to the British Parliament. It is based upon treaties, engagements and sanads supplemented by usage and sufferance and by decisions of the government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice.

The existing conception of the relation between the states and the government of India is one of union and co-operation with the Paramount Power. "The validity of the treaties and engagements made with them and the maintenance of their rights, privileges and dignities have been asserted and observed by the Paramount Power. Still it has had of necessity to make decisions and exercise the functions of paramountcy beyond the terms of the treaties in accordance with changing political, social and economic conditions. The Indian government has been compelled to interfere as they could not remain "indifferent spectators of the disorder and misrule" in the states whose authority they protected. It was necessary to interfere in order to secure good government to their subjects. With the acceptance of the necessity of intervention modern political practice was really begun.

Thus Paramountcy involves (1) the doctrine of the supremacy or suzerainty of the British government over Indian States unlimited by any contractual relationship, (2) its duty of managing states' foreign relations and of protecting their internal and external security, and (3) its right or prerogative of intervening in their internal administration in cases of gross misrule. This paramount supremacy was created partly by conquest, partly by treaty, and partly by usage. As a result the sovereignty of the states is limited by their duties and obligations alike to the British government and to their subjects. The paramount power has the right of control over their external affairs, defence and protection and the duty of intervention in the interests of the princes' authority, the peoples' welfare and the maintenance of law and good order and economic good of India as a whole.

Attitude of rulers.—In the First Round Table Conference (1930) the representatives of Princes declared themselves in favour of an All-India Federation and central responsibility with safeguards for internal State sovereignty. They also stood solid for the British connection and the paramountcy of the British government in non-federal matters in order to maintain their treaty rights relating to their internal sovereignty and external security. They further wanted inquiry into and settlement of the financial and economic relations between

British India and the states. They insisted that entry into the federation should be at the discretion of each individual state, after examining the safeguards and the Instrument of Accession. They wanted all matters affecting the rulers personally or their dynasties should be reserved for decision by Viceroy as agent of the British Crown.

The Chamber of Princes in 1931 endorsed this action taken by its representatives and authorised them to carry on negotiations "with due regard to the interests of the States and subject to the final confirmation and ratification by the Chamber and each individual state."

An Indian Prince firstly wants to protect the British connection and supremacy and his loyalty to it in order that there may be peace and order in the country and security of his rule. Secondly, he wants to remain a part and parcel of Indian nation and therefore is prepared to enter the All-India Federation for safeguarding common interests and to support the achievement of responsible government. Thirdly, he is anxious to preserve his dynastic heritage and trust, his throne and his people and therefore wants to safeguard its internal sovereignty and is against any intervention in the internal affairs of the state. Lastly, he wants to co-operate in preserving the interests of his order.

They accepted the doctrine of paramountcy of the British Crown but wanted its scope to be defined and restricted, especially in the case of intervention, as a preliminary to federation. They also wanted to know the powers to be ceded to the federation, the method of their representation in the legislatures, the nature of responsibility and legislative powers, the constitution and jurisdiction of the federal court, in short, the whole federal structure before they would agree to accede to the federation. They would like to know the new government of India and the Instrument of Accession before they would agree to enter into it.

States' peoples' demands.—People's of Indian States have demanded that :—

1. Paramountcy should not be divided and should ultimately vest in the central federal government.
2. Princes should establish responsible government in the states.
3. States should be admitted into the federation only on condition that the standard of government in them is

of the same type as prevailing in those of British Indian units.

4. The states should be represented in the Federation only through the elected representatives of the people and not through the nominees of the princes.
5. Federal laws relating to federal subjects must directly be operative in the states. Administration of federal subjects must be entrusted to the Federal Executive. Any violation of Federal laws or any vagaries in the administration of Federal subjects committed within the limits of Indian States must be cognisable by the Federal Supreme Court.
6. Until responsible government is established in the states and until independent judiciary comes into existence, and until rule of law prevails in the states, the judiciary in the states must be linked to the Federal Supreme Court.
7. The declaration of fundamental rights of the people must be embodied in the federal constitution and these rights must be guaranteed to the State's people and the infringement of the same must be cognisable by the federal Supreme Court.

Princes' desires.—The Princes want their absolute rights based on the old treaties restored. They want to do away with new political practices and interpretations or encroachments forced on them. They do not want any interference from the British India under the Federation. They are willing to associate in matters of common concern. They however assert their equality to and independence of British India. The publicists and responsible Congress politicians in India have kept aloof upto now from expressing any views on the future of Indian States in the Swaraj scheme of government. It was a politic position as the problem had not become urgent. But times and policies have now changed. The Princes, the Government of India, and the people of India are all anxious to come to a certain understanding and arrangement and each one is examining and stating his position from the ideal which each one has in view. The Princes' main object is their own safety and independence, that of the British Government is the imperial point of view of its future rights and obligations in India, and that of the people is to obtain Swaraj of a federal type to suit India's conditions in the form of Dominion Status or Independence with the whole of India welded into one form of government, leaving autonomous

powers to states under certain safeguards and certain federal powers in association with other provinces.

There have been some British Viceroys as well as some Indian people who have advocated the policy of annexation and absorption of these states into British India in order to do away with these relics of feudalism. Everywhere else in the world these medieval potentates have disappeared in a revolution or otherwise. But in view of the changes in the mentality of some princes and their amenability to progress, these extreme remedies are not advocated in responsible quarters. To-day the position is to draw a distinction between the real self-governing princes who ought to be treated on a higher footing and the feudatory chiefs whose position and powers ought to be separately treated, reviewed and adjusted. Montford report suggested such differentiation and made consequent proposals on that basis for a permanent council of Princes.

Chamber of princes.—It was to be consulted in matters (1) which affect the states generally, (2) which are of common concern to the Empire as a whole, or to the British India and the States in common and (3) which relate to later custom and usage. It was also to hold an inquiry into disputes or differences between two or more states, or between a state and a local government or the government of India, or into cases of misconduct.

This Council or Chamber was to meet regularly and was generally to be presided over by the Viceroy. This is the present Chamber of Princes which is working on those lines since its establishment. It does not however interfere in the internal independence of the state or with its direct relations with the Government of India. Montford report also suggested that all important states should be placed in direct political relations with the Central Government and that there should be joint deliberation on matters of common interest between the Government of India and States. It also indicated that the future position of the states was to be in a federal India within the British Empire. In 1920 the scheme for a Chamber of Princes or Narendra Mandal was accepted by the Government of India and the Princes and in 1921 it was opened by Duke of Connaught. The chief task of the Chamber was laid down to be the discussion of the subjects of common concern to all states, and also to states and British Indian Government. There was to be no discussion of the internal affairs of a state or the acts of a ruler. A Chancellor of the Chamber is elected by the Princes. There is a

standing committee of six to manage all affairs. Its decisions do not bind the Princes as a body or individually.

The Indian view. The Indian public does not now advocate either the policy of non-interference or of annexation. It emphasises and holds the view that the Indian States must fall into the scheme of a Dominion Status and Federation for which the whole of India is fit and must strive for. It will not listen to and admit the suggestion that the States should be directly related to and controlled by the British Government, and separated from British India. It insists on the right of the central federal government to deal with these matters and it suggests an independent Supreme Court to decide in matters of dispute or difference. It proceeds on the basis of the community of interests and not on the differences of present artificial forms and accidents of history. It rests on the historical position of the Government of India to control the interests of India and to preserve peace and good order throughout India as stated by Lord Reading. It does not admit that the Crown is free to take away this control or duty from the Government of India when it becomes a responsible one of the Dominion type and to exercise it in a different way by creating a new agency and force in India. The Government of India when it becomes a Dominion does not lose the character of being the King's government, and a function which it has been discharging since its constitution cannot be taken away from its legal successor the Dominion form of Government. Therefore considering that the States, specially the larger ones, are going to last longer as they are not to be forced to give up their rights nor are they willing to give them up and that they must form a part of the federated India, it becomes necessary to insist upon their adopting a representative and responsible form of government within their states. Some have already started on this principle, but other states are too medieval and autocratic in their form of government and the sooner they are advised or pressed by the public opinion and the paramount power to take to modern democratic ways the better for their and India's future.

Even to-day the British India and Indian States form one polity known as the Indian Empire through which one writ of the King-Emperor resigns supreme. There is only one power, one sovereign state which is recognised in international and foreign dealings. They took part in Imperial conferences and at the Peace conferences as representing India. The Indian States have no rights of secession or supreme rule. They are bound. There is an agreement or alliance permanent and

unbreakable. This federal tie has to develop fully in the future so as to assume a normal federal form in the shape of a federal government where all the component parts will be conscious units sharing in the central power and carrying on local administrations.

Thus the problem of the States has been dealt herewith from the point of view of India's united future, that is, their position under Swaraj, their own rights and powers, and the rights and liberties of their subjects.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Our Political Life.

OUR GOVERNMENT.

"The constitution is in fact the government."

"For, if a constitution is to be permanent, all classes of the state must wish that it should exist and be maintained."

—Aristotle.

1. DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION.

The unit of administration in India is the district. There are about 270 districts in British India. They vary in size and in population.

Collector.—Each district is under the charge of an officer called collector or deputy commissioner. He is generally a member of the Indian Civil Service. He has a two-fold function. As the principal revenue officer, he is known as the collector, and as such deals with the settlement and collection of land revenue and other matters relating to the condition and prosperity of the peasants. His revenue organisation deals with the registration, alteration and partition of landholdings, the settlement of land disputes, loans to agriculturists and famine relief.

Magistrate.—As the chief magisterial officer he is the district magistrate, and as such he supervises the criminal courts, the police work, and maintains peace and order in the district. He possesses first class magisterial powers. The district superintendent of police is his assistant for police purposes, works under his direction and control, and is responsible for all matters relating to the internal management and the discipline of the district police.

Other district officers.—Besides these two, there are other district officers such as the district and sessions judge, the civil surgeon, the conservator of forests, the executive engineer. They are under their own provincial departmental chiefs and manage affairs lying within their jurisdiction. Still the collector-magistrate has to be informed of all activities in all these departments, because they touch or affect the working and efficiency of the general administration of the district. He has

to concern himself with police, jails, education, municipal and local boards, roads, sanitation, co-operation, medical dispensaries and local, provincial and central taxation. He is expected to keep himself acquainted with every aspect of people's political activity and economic welfare. Each district is divided for administrative purposes into three or four sub-divisions. Each sub-division is under a sub-divisional officer, called an assistant collector belonging to the Indian Civil Service or a deputy collector belonging to the Provincial Civil Service. He is in general charge of the executive and magisterial work of the sub-division. He possesses first class administrative powers, and supervises land revenue administration in his area. Each sub-division consists of three or four taluks or tahsils. Each of them is in charge of a tahsildar or mamlatdar. He is also a revenue and magisterial officer. He belongs to the subordinate provincial service and possesses first or second class magisterial powers. He is responsible for all affairs of his unit. There are other taluka officers, such as the inspector of police, the inspector of excise, the overseer, and the medical officer.

Village officials.—Every taluka or tahsil contains a large number of villages. A village is the lowest unit of administration. It is in charge of a headman. In Bombay, Berar and Madras where he is generally hereditary the patel or karnam collects the land revenue and looks after the maintenance of law and order in the village. He also acts as a petty magistrate. In the Punjab and the U. P. the lambardars and mukhias who are representatives of the landlords of villages have to do the same kind of work. In the C. P. the muquaddams or headmen are elected representatives of landlords. They collect land revenue and maintain order. They turn out bad characters and report to the police all crimes and disputes. They attend to the needs of officials on tour. They record births and deaths, and are responsible for health and sanitation. In short, they are responsible for everything of public interest and peace or order. All government orders are communicated through them.

The other village official is the accountant, called patwari, talati or kulkarni. He keeps village accounts, registers of holdings, and in general all records connected with land revenue.

Every village has a watchman or chowkidar who acts as a rural policeman who helps in the detection and prevention of crime. All these officials are under the control of the district officer.

Commissioners.—In all major provinces except Madras there are commissioners in charge of divisions containing four to eight districts. They have the power of general superintendence over the division and act as a court of appeal in revenue cases. They have also other specific duties assigned to them.

In all provinces except Bombay there is a Board of Revenue, or a financial commissioner between the commissioner and the provincial government. It is the chief revenue authority of the province and also forms an appellate court in revenue cases.

The district officer is the centre of all district administration. He is the chief representative and agent of the government. He forms an essential link between it and the rural population and watches and controls their activities. He possesses very large powers, patronage and influence and is thus the pivot of all district life.

Revenue Department.—At the headquarters of the province the government has a Secretariat in which the Revenue Department looks after the land revenue administration of the province. It used to be in charge of a revenue member and was a reserved department before 1935 Act. Now it is in charge of a minister responsible to the provincial legislature.

Executive and Judiciary.—Though all the civil judicial work and most of the higher criminal judicial work is not in the hands of the executive officers, still a number of criminal cases are tried by officers who exercise both executive and revenue functions. This is considered derogatory to the independence of judiciary and security of civil liberty, and impartial justice. The government is, however, of opinion that if the judicial powers are taken away from the executive officers their authority and prestige would get weakened and they would not be able to deal with the work of prevention of crime or any serious danger to peace which depends on them. It is also stated that the separation asked for will lead to an increase in expenditure.

2. LAW AND ORDER.

Law and order.—Law and order are the two most essential elements for the happy and harmonious life of citizens. Law embodies the legal duties and rights of citizens. Order involves peace or absence of disturbance in their daily life and preservation of equilibrium in their social activities and relations according to the laws of the country. Without order no society can enjoy normal life or make any progress. It involves absence

of restraint on the peaceful, the good, and the law-abiding citizens, and use of restraint and punishment of the wicked, the criminal and law-breaking elements in the society.

Function of good government.—The essential function of good government is the preservation of law and order which gives the security of life and property to the people. It means the prevention and detection of crime. It is the chief function of the executive organ of government, and it is done through the agency of police. They are for the protection of person—his life, liberty and property according to law. Their duty is to prevent conflict and breach of order and peace, to detect crime, and to arrest criminals. They have to see that law and order are preserved and to guard public security, peace and welfare. Therefore there is a great need for having police forces of high efficiency and lofty morale in view of advance in criminal's methods and temptation for corruption.

Police organisation.—In 1860 the government of India appointed a commission to inquire into the whole subject of police administration. It recommended the "establishment of a well organised and purely civil constabulary, supervised by European officers and capable of carrying out all ordinary civil duties, including the provision of guards, and escorts." The village police was to be retained and brought into direct relationship with the general constabulary. The Police Act of 1861 gave effect to these recommendations. According to it the police system in different provinces was organised. The Police Commission of 1902 recommended a new branch, called the Criminal Investigation Department, to be created. It was established in 1904. Though at first the system of nomination prevailed the system of open competition was introduced since 1893. The police system however remained full of abuses because it contained untrained, uneducated, corrupt and irresponsible people and officers who showed very little sympathy and contact with the public. Therefore in 1902 the government of India appointed a Commission to inquire into the state of police administration. Its recommendations were given effect to in all provinces and resulted in the improvement of pay and prospects of the police officers and in the growth of their numbers. But still the system requires reform. It requires to be made more efficient and conducive to the real interests of the people. The officers and their subordinates should be better trained and educated, more efficient and less corrupt. They should be servants of the public and not their masters, and keep cordial relations and show courteous behaviour.

The police forces are highly centralised organisations in India. They number 198,000 of all ranks. Each of the provinces has its own force and pays it. Only three provincial maritime capitals—Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta—have separate police organisations but they are paid from provincial funds. There are no police forces paid or controlled by local and municipal boards.

Each province has an inspector-general of police at the head of the organisation. Next to him are deputy-inspector-generals for divisions or circles. Next to them are district superintendents of police over districts. They are members of the Indian Police Service. Below the district superintendent there are assistant superintendents, deputy-superintendents, inspectors, sub-inspectors, head constables and constables. The grades from deputy superintendent downwards belong to provincial services. The sub-inspector is the head officer of each police station or thana. The village watchmen is not considered a policeman. His duty is to report crime and to give general assistance to the regular police, to keep a watch over bad characters and to supply local information.

There is a distinction between armed police and the civil police. The armed police is a reserve at the head quarters of each district. It is a body which furnishes men for escort and guard duty and is used in emergencies. The civil police do the ordinary duties unarmed. In order to improve the character and calibre of police officers and constables, colleges and schools have been started for their training.

Besides normal crimes there are serious breaches of peace and religious fanaticism, economic discontent, political unrest, and hooligan incentive. Police have to prevent, detect and deal with them also.

3. LAW AND JUSTICE.

Character of Judges.—The spirit of obedience to law develops amongst citizens when its principles and procedure are based on a sense of equality, equity and justice. In order that courts may do their work impartially and honestly, the judges must be honest, independent and secure in their tenure of office. The laws they administer, the procedure they adopt, and the decisions they give, must be open, fair and legal. There must not be any arbitrariness and executive interference in them. Then only a sense of security and trust develops amongst citizens. Special tribunals, special laws, special procedure and

special punishments deteriorate their sense of obedience and faith in law and justice.

Function of the Judiciary.—The function of the judiciary is to interpret and to apply the law in concrete cases where a criminal offence or a civil wrong takes place, and thus to guard the legal rights of citizens and government servants. In doing this it must be actuated by a sense of justice and equity, fairness and humanity.

Organisation of Courts.—In 1861 the Indian High Courts Act was passed, and there were established High Courts in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Each of them was to consist of a chief justice and not more than 15 judges, of whom not less than one-third including the chief justice were to be members of the English Bar and not less than one-third were to be members of the covenanted Civil Service. All the judges were to be appointed by and to hold office during the pleasure of the Crown. The High Courts were given power to superintend and to frame rules of practice for all the courts subject to their appellate jurisdiction. The Civil Courts Acts established a generally uniform system of civil courts in provinces, and the Criminal Procedure Code Act of 1872 made the system of criminal courts uniform. In 1911 the Indian High Courts Act raised the maximum number of judges to twenty and gave power to establish new High Courts. Thus came the High Courts at Patna, Lahore and Nagpur to be established.

At present there is no Supreme Court of Judicature for the whole of India. Appeals from the Indian High Courts go to the court of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England.

Civil Courts.—Below the High Courts there are subordinate courts, civil and criminal. In each district there is a district judge who has control over all the civil courts in that district, and his court has the authority to receive all appeals from all of them. Below him are subordinate judges of the first class with smaller jurisdiction, and munsiffs or subordinate judges of the second class are still below them. There are also small causes courts which exercise final jurisdiction in petty cases in presidency towns and other important places.

Criminal Courts.—For administering criminal justice a province is divided into sessions divisions. Each of them has a court of sessions presided over by a sessions judge. He is generally the district judge himself exercising criminal jurisdiction. He is often assisted by additional, joint or assistant sessions judges.

Sessions Courts can try all criminal cases committed to them by magistrates' courts and can inflict any punishment authorised by law subject to the confirmation of the high court in cases of capital offences.

Below the sessions court are courts of magistrates of three classes. First class magistrates' courts can fine upto Rs. 1,000/- and can pass a sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment. Second class magistrates' courts can impose a fine upto Rs. 200/- and a sentence of six months' rigorous imprisonment. Third class magistrates' courts can inflict a fine upto Rs. 50/- and one months' rigorous imprisonment.

Besides these there are presidency magistrates in presidency towns and city magistrates in large cities to try criminal cases and to commit more important ones to the high courts or sessions Court. There are also honorary magistrates and justices of peace appointed in big towns.

Revenue Courts.—Revenue courts deal with matters relating to the settling and collection of land revenue and disputes about it. They are presided over by collectors, deputy or assistant collectors and tahsildars. Their appeals go to commissioners or the member for revenue.

Federal Court.—The Act of 1935 which created a Federal Government in India at the centre introduced a Federal Court to settle disputes arising between federating units or between them and the central government relating to their powers, functions and jurisdictions under the constitution.

The Federal Court was formally started in 1937. It consists of three judge at present. The Act provides for one Chief justice and not more than six puisne judges. They are to be appointed by His Majesty and can hold office until they attain the age of 65. A judge can be removed from office by His Majesty on the ground of misbehaviour or infirmity of mind or body if the Privy Council reports to that effect. The Federal Court has exclusive jurisdiction in original matters in any dispute between any two or more of the provinces or states, or between them and the Federal government regarding their legal rights. It has appellate power from the judgement of a high court in British India if the latter certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Act of 1935 or any order in Council made thereunder.

The Federal Legislature is empowered to provide that in certain civil cases where the amount involved in dispute is not less than Rs. 50,000/- an appeal will lie to the Federal Court from

the High courts in British India. In such cases direct appeals to the Privy Council will be abolished.

There will lie an appeal to the Privy Council from the judgement of the Federal Court given in the exercise of its original jurisdiction ; and there will also lie an appeal in any other case when leave is given by the Federal Court or the Privy Council.

Trial by Jury.—Trial by jury is an English judicial device. In India criminal cases of certain classes and in certain areas are tried with the help of jurors or assessors. The jury is employed in a high court or a court of sessions. Its opinion is advisory and not binding on judges. When there are cases of disagreement between the sessions judge and jury they are referred to the high court.

Appeals are allowed in civil and criminal cases, from a subordinate court to the next higher court, and then to the High court. Finally they may be allowed to the Privy Council under certain circumstances, not on points of fact but on points of law with the permission of the High court.

Racial discrimination.—In India justice has suffered from racial discrimination in matter of public services and in the administration of criminal justice. In 1836 the distinctions of race were abolished in civil cases. But in criminal cases Europeans could be tried only by European magistrates and judges. This was felt an insult and disgrace by Indians. Europeans escaped from proper punishment or conviction. The Ilbert Bill of 1884 which wanted to invest Indian magistrates and judges with the power of trying European British subjects failed because of European opposition. The Act III of 1884 provided that European subjects might be tried by district magistrates or sessions judges, whether Indian or European, but they could in every case claim to be tried by a jury of which not less than half the number should be Europeans. Indians could make no such claim. Hence discrimination remained.

Under the new political atmosphere of 1919 reforms and the pressure of public opinion after 1921 the government of India at the initiative of Lord Reading appointed a "Racial Distinctions Committee" to inquire into this matter. It recommended the removal of some of the racial distinctions. The Act which embodied its proposals gave all first class magistrates power to try European British subjects and abolished all restrictions regarding jurisdiction of additional and assistant sessions

judges over them. placed Indian and Europeans on an equal footing in the matter of trial by jury and in the exercise of right of appeal.

Separation of the judiciary from the executive.—There is one another demand which the Indian public opinion has always made and that is, the separation of the judiciary from the executive. In India the district officer and his subordinate officers combine two functions. They collect the revenue, control the police, institute prosecutions, and at the same time exercise large judicial powers. This vitiates justice and endangers civil liberty.

Jails, their objects.—Administration of jails is also a part of administration of justice. The person sentenced to imprisonment may not be inhumanly treated and his human sentiments destroyed, and thus the spirit of law and justice nullified. The aim of justice must be to reform individuals and not to make them hardened criminals by inhuman jail regulations, discipline and treatment. The attempts at jail reform were made by appointing commissions in 1838, 1864 and 1867. In 1889 the government of India appointed a Committee of two officers. Their report dealt with prison administration in all its aspects. A conference of experts reviewed and supplemented its work in 1892. In 1894 a General Prison Act was passed and rules issued for the regulation of jail administration. Jails have to accommodate and provide for prisoners who are convicted of transportation, penal servitude, rigorous and simple imprisonment, and also for civil and undertrial prisoners.

Their organisation.—There are three kinds of jails (1) central, (2) district, and (3) subsidiary. In each province the jail department is under the control of an inspector-general of prisons, and the central jails are under superintendents. They are I. M. S. officers. They are assisted by deputy superintendents in large central jails, and by subordinate medical officers. District jails are under the control of civil sergeants. The executive officers of jails are jailors, deputy and assistant jailors and warders. There are reformatory schools for juvenile convicts. They are administered by the education department.

Since 1919 prisons are administered as provincial subjects, but are regulated by an all-India legislation. In the same year a jails' committee was appointed. It emphasized the reformatory side of prisons' work and the necessity of improving and increasing jail accommodation, of recruiting a better class of warders, of providing education for prisoners, and of developing

prison industries. In 1926 Andamans was to be given up as a convict settlement and prison-house, but in 1935 it was again adopted as such.

The new provincial ministries of 1937 are trying to reform jail administration and the moral and economic capacity of prisoners.

4. PUBLIC WORKS.

Types of public works.—Public works consist of military works, railways, irrigation and general civil works, especially roads and buildings. Lord Dalhousie created in 1854 a central public works department together with subordinate provincial departments. From 1905 a separate Railway Board controls railways and is represented by the member for commerce and industry which was also created in 1905.

Railway management.—In 1921 the Acworth Commission recommended that the government should undertake the direct management of railways after the expiry of contracts with the railway companies. They carried away profits to the amount of one crore a year out of India and their boards in England did not remove the grievances of Indian passengers, and Indian producers, manufacturers and traders who paid for their railways and profits. There were public complaints against them for a long time. The government therefore began to undertake the direct management of railways from 1925.

Railway Board.—The Railway administration is now under the Railway Board. It carries on the administrative work and the government of India holds the final decision in regard to the preparation of the railway programme and the larger question of railway policy and finance which affect all lines. The Board was reconstructed according to the recommendations of the Acworth Committee. As at present constituted it consists of the chief commissioner, a financial commissioner, and three members, and is assisted by five directors expert in civil engineering, mechanical engineering, traffic, finance and establishment, and labor. Their function is to relieve the Board of routine work by disposing of all detailed or technical matters.

There are also the Rates Advisory Committee formed in 1926, and the Central Publicity Bureau of the Railway Board in 1927.

According to the recommendations of the Actworth Committee railway finances were separated in 1924.

Federal Statutory Railway Authority.—Under the Government of India Act of 1935 the actual administration of railways will

be placed in the hands of a Federal Statutory Railway Authority. It is to be the executive authority of the federation in respect of the regulation, construction, maintenance and operation of railways.

There is a cry for Indianisation of higher railway services and for better third class accomodation on behalf of the public.

Organisation of Public Works Department.—In 1905 the Central Public Works Department was made a joint charge with the Department of Revenue and Agriculture. The Department has powers of supervision over the provincial departments. As regards buildings and roads powers were delegated to provincial governments and local bodies even before 1920. At the head of the provincial works department are two chief engineers, one for the irrigation branch under the revenue minister and the other for buildings and roads under the local-self-government minister. Under the chief engineer are superintending engineers in charge of a division or circle, and executive engineers in charge of a district. Below them are assistant engineers and a subordinate staff. Local self-governing bodies maintain and manage their own local public works.

Roads.—Owing to the growth of motor transport and traffic; maintainence and construction of the most important roads became a matter of all-India concern which the provincial governments had not the financial strength to deal with unaided. A special road development committee was appointed in 1927 to deal with road problems. It recommended a comprehensive road policy and a central coordination of local programmes, and liberal financial outlay and assistance. There was formed in 1930 a Standing Committee on roads of the central legislature. There is a periodic all-India roads' conference, of provincial representatives held to secure co-ordination in road matters.

Irrigation works.—Schemes of irrigation are very important for agriculture where rainfall is little or uncertain and uneven in distribution or liable to failure. Frequent famines in India make them very necessary. The Famine Commission of 1880 gave importance to works of irrigation. An Irrigation Commission was appointed by Lord Curzon in 1901. It submitted its report in 1903, and gave impetus to them. Irrigation has now become a provincial subject after the reforms. The local governments are responsible for constructing and maintaining irrigation works such as canals, reservoirs, wells, tube-wells. It-irrigation from rivers and dams for holding up flood water.

Post and Telegraph.—Post and Telegraph Department was organised in 1914. It is controlled by the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs under the Department of Industries and Labour of the Government of India. It looks after also telephones, wireless radio and aerial post.

5. OUR CONSTITUTION.

Its unitary character in the past.—India is a part of the British Empire. Her constitution has been made and amended, and her administration has been conducted and controlled by and on behalf of the British Parliament. Her government in the past therefore has been a unitary one, the Secretary of State for India being chiefly responsible for it. The governor-general and governors being his agents carried on the affairs of administration in India under his superintendence, control and guidance. They were responsible to him for their actions. Since 1919 a relaxation of Secretary of State's powers in relation to transferred subjects in provinces took place, and the responsibility for their administration was made over to provincial legislatures. In other reserved subjects—provincial and central—the final responsibility remained with the Secretary of State and his agents.

Its federal character in the future.—The Act of 1935 goes a step further and gives responsibility in all provincial subjects to provincial legislatures and ministers responsible to them and it recognises the principle of responsibility at the centre with certain reservations and safeguards under a federal form of government wherein British Indian provinces and Indian states are to be joined together.

The new Act therefore makes a transition from a unitary form of government to a federal form, recognises the principle of responsibility in the provinces and also at the centre with certain reservations and safeguards and contemplates finally a Dominion Status for the country within the Empire. The government of India will therefore have under the new Act an imperial, a federal and a state or provincial aspect.

The preamble to the Act of 1919 has not been repealed and therefore it indicates the ultimate form which the Indian constitution is expected to develop. It is stated, according to the declaration of Lord Irwin (1929), to be that of a self-governing dominion in the British Commonwealth of nations.

6. IMPERIAL (HOME) GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

In its imperial aspect it controls the making and amending of the constitution, the organisation of defence, the conduct of foreign affairs, the recruitment and rights of all-India services, the rights and responsibilities of paramountcy in regard to Indian states and of sovereignty in regard to Indian provinces.

The Crown, its position.—The Crown of Britain assumed the government of India in 1858. In the British system of government the most important acts of administration are carried out in the name of the Crown, laws are made by the Crown in parliament, and justice is administered on behalf of the Crown. No change in royal title accompanied the assumption of direct rule by the Crown in 1858. In 1876 however the Royal Titles Act gave power to alter the title in India of the sovereign, and on January 1st 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed as Queen Empress and in 1903 and 1911 similar action was taken as regards her successors.

The Crown serves the essential function of the link which maintains the unity of the British Empire. Before 1919 the British Empire was but a single unit. From the Peace Conference of 1919 the Dominions and India began to have an international personality. The Statute of Westminster (1931) recognised the constitutional autonomy of self-governing Dominions. Now British ministers cannot advise the king in regard to their internal affairs. This is known as the Dominion Status. But for the rest of the Empire including India they still remain the effective advisors without limitation in the case of international relations, and in internal affairs limited only to the extent to which a measure of responsible government is granted under definite reservations, restrictions or safeguards.

These reservations with regard to India are in connection with defence, foreign policy, Indian princes, minorities, finance, British economic interests, and maintenance of ultimate British sovereignty, peace and order in the country.

The relations of the Indian Princes are now direct with the king and the rights of paramountcy are to be exercised with his approbation through the Viceroy as the king's independent representative. In all non-federal matters the states are to maintain direct relations with the Crown. This change took place in 1858. The Crown became the Emperor after the deposition of the last emperor of Delhi, a completely sovereign power predominant over all others and claiming their allegiance.

The paramount power has always asserted its right of intervention in internal matters for carrying out financial obligations, maintaining order and abolishing misrule.

Its functions.—The authority of the Crown over India is exercisable by the King except in so far as may otherwise be provided by the Act of 1935 or as directed by him. The territories vested in the King are made up of the governors' provinces and the chief commissioner's provinces which make up British India. India includes British India and Indian States but not the tribal areas which include the frontier lands of India and Baluchistan. The Act does not touch his prerogatives of control of foreign affairs, including the right to cede territory and of making war or peace or declaring neutrality. The naval, military and air forces are under his control. His rights to grant pardons and remissions of punishment remain with him. He possesses the supreme ownership of all land in British India and is entitled to escheat. He has the right to grant honours and titles of all kinds in India. A bill may be reserved by the governor-general or governors for royal assent or disallowance which is expressed by an order of the King in Council.

Thus the Crown in general enjoys in British India all the privileges which it has under prerogative in case of England except in so far as these are limited by statute. It appoints the governor-general as its representative in connection with Indian States, governors of provinces, auditor-general, judges of the Federal Court and High Courts.

British Parliament, its sovereignty.—The British Crown and Parliament possess full legal and political sovereignty over India. The form of the Indian constitution is determined by Parliament. The power of amending it lies with it. From the time of Lord North's Regulating Act (1773) and Pitt's India Act (1784) to the Act of 1858 Parliament controlled the E. I. Company and its administration of Indian affairs. From 1858 when it assumed the direct control to 1935 it has passed a series of acts laying down the form of the Indian constitution and amending its provisions from time to time to promote representative and self-governing institutions in India. The actual work of administration of Indian affairs was entrusted in 1858 to the Secretary of State for India who is responsible to Parliament as a member of the British cabinet and is its representative and servant for in connection with them. The work in India is entrusted to the governor-general and governors who work on behalf of parliament. Parliament also controls and keeps in

the British government by interpellations and resolutions. Parliament's authority is absolute and complete. It exercises the legislation for India and control its administration. The British has yet acquired dominion status. But to the extent to which responsibility is transferred to Indian legislatures by the Acts of 1919 and 1935 parliament's control has been relaxed and the Secretary of State does not interfere in subjects or matters falling under it. In others the control of parliament through the Secretary of State is still there and is directly exercised by governor-general and governors.

How it is exercised.—Parliament remains the sole judge of the time and the degree of each constitutional advance which India may be allowed to make. It has accepted the ideal of responsible government for India to be realised in gradual stages. But there is no time limit provided for the final achievement.

The Act of 1919 gave partial responsibility in transferred subjects to provincial legislatures and thus created dyarchy which was found unworkable, but no responsibility in the central government. The Act of 1935 has given responsibility in provincial subjects which is called provincial autonomy and some responsibility in the central government with reservations. In both spheres certain safeguards have been created and special responsibilities have been entrusted to the executive heads to be exercised according to their individual judgement. Thus in the subjects which are transferred or not reserved Parliament has delegated all control over them to Indian legislatures. In others there is no relaxation of Secretary of State's authority. However in matters of purely Indian interest a convention has been created that when the Indian executive and legislature are in agreement, the Secretary of State and Parliament would not ordinarily interfere with the decisions arrived at in India. This convention was adopted in fiscal matters and policy. But the difficulty lay in the usual lack of agreement between the Indian executive and the Indian legislature. There was difficulty also about the interpretation of the words 'purely Indian interests.' Then Legislatures were not wholly elected and contained official blocs.

The nature of parliamentary control over Indian affairs after the Act of 1935 cannot be judged properly at present. The Joint Parliamentary Committee however stated in 1934 that with the passing of the Act the existing convention will lapse and that the federal legislature will enjoy complete fiscal and economic freedom. But they suggested that any discrimination or injury to British trade should be prevented by making

it a definite item in the special responsibilities of the governor-general and also including it in the Instrument of Instructions. It has been done so by the Act of 1935. Thus there is no absolute or unrestricted fiscal autonomy given to India as in the case of Dominions. It is linked up with the doctrine of reciprocity with Britain.

In matters of special responsibilities wherever the executive head has to act in the exercise of his individual judgement, he will be under the general control and direction of the Secretary of State. It is not however possible that any of these heads will play the role of the final judge independently and impartially as it is stated to be.

✓ *The Secretary of State for India, his position.*—The office of the Secretary of State for India arose in 1858. The Crown and Parliament act through him in exercising their authority in relation to the government of India. He performs all duties and exercises all powers with regard to it. He is a member of Parliament and sits either in the House of Lords or Commons. He is a member of the British Cabinet which is completely responsible to Parliament. He is responsible to his immediate colleagues. He must keep them well informed about his new lines of policy and action and take their assent and support for all important changes. The Cabinet is collectively responsible for the policy. If a serious difference arises then he resigns his office. He is completely subordinate to Parliament, and has to supply all information and give satisfactory explanations. He is liable to dismissal by its adverse vote. He comes into office with his party which is in majority and goes out with it, when Parliament is dissolved or the cabinet loses the confidence of Parliament.

How he works.—He has two Under-Secretaries, one Parliamentary and the other Permanent. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary is a member of Parliament and of the party in power. He forms a part of the ministry but not of the cabinet. He explains the policy and actions of government to Parliament and does all the work assigned to him by the Secretary of State.

The Permanent Under-Secretary is a civil servant and cannot be a member of Parliament. He guides and controls all the secretariate staff and administrative work.

India Office.—The Secretary of State's office is known as the India Office. Its secretariate service runs the administrative machinery and looks after its efficiency. All the expenditure and salaries incurred were till 1919 paid out of the revenues of

India. Since 1919 the salary of the Secretary of State is paid by the British treasury. As regards other expenses it makes an annual grant of £ 150,000 and the rest is charged on the revenues of India. The Act of 1935 provides for the payment of the salary of the Secretary of State and the expenses of his department out of the money provided by Parliament. But at the same time it gives the power to the Secretary of State to charge on the revenues of India expenses for performing duties on behalf of the Federation.

His powers and functions.—According to the Act of 1919 his powers and functions are to superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the government and the revenues of India. All grants of salaries, gratuities and allowances, and all other payments and charges out of or on the revenues of India require his sanction.

The Act of 1935 omits the section relating to his power of superintendence, direction and control, as the principle of responsibility is introduced into the central government under some safeguards. The Secretary of State will exercise general control and direction only in cases where the governor-general or the governor is required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment. These matters are of defence, political relations with foreign states and Indian states, the I. C. S. and the I. P. S., the Federal Railway Authority, the Reserve Bank of India and the special responsibilities of the governor-general and the governors.

India Council.—The Secretary of State had a Council given by the Act of 1858 for assisting him in fulfilling his duties and functions, in superintending the policies and the details of the Indian administration. It was composed of persons who had experience of long service in responsible positions in India. It was an advisory body. The Secretary of State could set aside its advice. Its authority was obligatory only in making rules and regulations for the services in regard to their recruitment, conditions of service, pay and allowances, conduct and discipline. Indians condemned this council and its bureaucratic composition, as its influence was exercised against liberal reforms and grant of self-government. Its constitution was altered from time to time. Half of its members were at least from amongst those who had long residence or service in India and who had left India only recently. Under the Act of 1919 it was to consist of eight to twelve members, appointed for a term of five years. Since 1907 there have been two Indian members

on the council. It was divided into committees for transacting business. The questions which required a majority of votes at a meeting of the council were, (1) grants or appropriations of any part of the revenues of India, (2) the making of contracts for the purpose of the Act and (3) the making of rules regulating matters connected with civil service. Outside this the Secretary of State had full powers to decide matters according to his own opinion.

Secretary of State's Advisors.—The Act of 1935 has abolished the India Council from 1 April, 1937. In its place a new body called the Secretary of State's Advisors has been created. At present their number is nine, but the Act provides only from three to six. Their duty will be to advise the Secretary of State on any matter relating to India on which he may desire their advice. They will hold office for a term of five years only. They will be paid out of money provided by Parliament. It is entirely in Secretary of State's discretion to consult them or not. He is at liberty to accept or reject their advice. Their opinion is only binding in matters concerning the superior services in India.

The Secretary of State being the agent of the Crown and Parliament he is invested with supreme authority over the Indian government, and he is responsible to Parliament for all his actions. He forms the link between the British Parliament and the Indian bureaucracy. The governor-general in council is required by law to pay due obedience to his orders. But the governor-general being the man on the spot and the direct head of a vast governmental machine has a large degree of independence and great powers in order that he may maintain peace and order and conduct the complex administrative machinery of the government of India.

The High Commissioner.—The post of the High Commissioner was newly created by the Act of 1919. His duties are largely commercial, very little political. Formerly this work was done by the Secretary of State. This was undesirable because of his national prejudices and interests, which often were in conflict with Indian interests. He preferred to purchase English goods, and thus caused sometimes financial loss to India.

The High Commissioner is appointed by the governor-general in council and is paid out of Indian revenues. His office is in London. His tenure is five years. He has to perform all the agency functions for the government of India. His

principal duty is to purchase articles which are required to be imported from abroad. He has to guard the interests of India. He also looks after the welfare of Indian students in England. The 1935 Act makes a great change and provides that he shall be appointed, and his salary and conditions of service shall be prescribed by the governor-general exercising his individual judgment. He has to perform such functions as the governor-general may from time to time direct. A province or a federated state may authorise him to act for itself.

7. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The Central Government under 1919 Act.—At present the constitution of the central government is based on the Act of 1919. It is of a unitary type. It has three organs through which it works. They are the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. It has a list of central subjects to administer and functions to perform. Its relations with the imperial government and the provincial governments are also laid down in the Act.

The Central Executive.—It is composed of the governor-general and his executive council. They are helped by a secretariate which controls and directs the administration.

The Governor-general.—The governor-general is appointed by the King on the advice of the prime minister. He is generally of noble birth and high social status and possesses great political and administrative experience. His tenure of office is normally for five years. He does not leave office when a British ministry goes out of power in England. He can go on leave in accordance with the Leave of Absence Act of 1924 for reasons of health, public interest or private affairs. The period of leave is not for more than four months.

His normal functions and powers.—He is the chief executive head of the central government and performs all its functions. With the help of his executive council he carries on the work of peace, order and good government. He presides over its deliberations and makes rules for conducting its meetings, and carrying on its work. He is responsible for the distribution of portfolios of executive departments amongst its various members. He supervises their work and keeps himself in close touch with each department through members themselves or through the secretaries who have direct access to him. He possesses the power of appointing governors of provinces except Bombay, Bengal and Madras. He has influence in

selecting his executive councillors. He can also exercise the exceptional power of overriding the decisions of his council.

Moreover he possesses large powers in the matter of legislation and in relation to the legislature. He must give his assent before any legislation affecting the public debt or revenues of India, religious rites and usages of people, discipline of the army and navy, foreign relations, provincial subjects and laws can be brought in any legislature. He has power to stop the legislature if he thinks that they affect the safety or tranquillity of the country. He can send bills back for reconsideration to the legislature. Before a bill can have the force of law his assent is necessary.

His powers of certification.—He possesses extraordinary powers of certification of a bill as an act of the legislature. Where either chamber refuses leave to introduce or fails to pass in a form recommended by the governor-general any bill, the governor-general may certify that the passage of the bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India.

His emergency powers.—He also possesses the emergency powers of issuing ordinances for a period of six months for maintaining peace and good government on his own responsibility. They have the force of law as acts of legislature. They can be renewed for a further period of six months.

His discretionary powers.—He has got the right to address both the Houses of Legislature. The power of summoning, proroguing and dissolving is entrusted to him. He can extend the period of legislatures beyond the normal period of their tenure. He has the duty of fixing dates and places of elections to and sessions of Houses of Legislature.

His royal prerogative powers.—He is also the Viceroy or representative of the Crown and enjoys within certain limitations the dignity, powers and privileges of royal position in India. Therefore he exercises the royal prerogative of mercy and pardon. He receives the homage of Indian princes and carries on dealings with foreign princes. He is the ceremonial centre of the central government and holds receptions and darbars and proclamation parades. He thus possesses very great importance, influence and status in the government of the country.

His Executive Council.—The Act of 1919 does not fix the number of the members of his executive council. It is however eight at present. They are appointed by the king by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual. At least three of them must be those who have been for not less than ten years in

government service in India. One must be a barrister or advocate or a pleader of not less than ten years standing. The first Indian was appointed in 1909. Now there are three Indians in it from 1921. Their period of tenure of their office is five years.

The governor-general is the president of the Executive Council. He nominates a vice-president to preside in his absence. He is responsible for distribution of work amongst its members and makes rules of procedure for its guidance. Its work is carried on according to the port-folio system adopted by Lord Canning. There are eight portfolios and eight members in charge of them. The Viceroy is in charge of foreign and political departments; the commander-in-chief, of army and defence; the home member, of matters affecting the all-India services, Indian politics, police, jails, law and justice; the finance member, of finance; the law member, of the legislative department; the member for communications, the member for education, health and lands, and the member for industries and labour in charge of their respective departments.

Executive member's position and powers.—Each member has the final voice in the ordinary matters of his own department. Matters of special importance are those in which provincial governments differ and those in which two or more departments are concerned go to the governor-general. The council meets once a week and decides matters ordinarily by a majority. In exceptional cases the governor-general has the power of veto.

The secretary of the department.—The member is assisted by a secretary who holds charge of the departmental office. The secretary has also to attend on the governor-general once a week and to inform him of all important matters happening in his department. He holds office usually for three years.

The powers of the governor-general in Council.—The governor-general in Council has all the powers of superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military government of India. Provincial governments have been subordinate to it and had to carry out its orders and keep him informed of all important matters. Only in certain subjects mentioned by the act they are not interfered with. It cannot declare war or begin hostilities or make treaties without an express sanction of the Secretary of State who is supreme over it. It however exercises powers, when expressly given, of making treaties or understandings, of jurisdiction or influence, cession or acquisition, in the neighbouring foreign territories.

The Central Legislature.—The Act of 1919 created a bicameral legislature at the centre. The upper house is called the Council of State and the lower house, the Legislative Assembly.

The Council of State.—The Council of State consists of 60 members out of which 33 are elected and 27 nominated. Among the nominated 20 are to be officials.

Each province is allotted a certain number of seats on the basis of population and area and has its own scheme of franchise. The Council of State consists of representatives of rich vested interests in the country. It is expected to perform the function of a revising chamber as its members are conservative or moderate and not radical or extremist. In cases of conflict with the lower chamber which is more democratic, it has sided with the executive. The government has used it for its own purposes whenever the lower chamber proved to be antagonistic to its demands.

Its franchise is based on high qualifications of wealth, learning, public service or social status. Its oligarchical character checks extremism or progress in the interests of vested privileges.

Its president is not elected but nominated by the governor-general. Its tenure is for five years only. It possesses legislative powers equal to those of the lower house. It has the powers of passing resolutions, of asking interpellations and of moving votes of want of confidence in the executive, and of adjournment motions. The governor-general however possesses the power of disallowing these. In financial matters it has not equal rights with the lower chamber which is the originating chamber. The voting of grants in the budget takes place in the lower chamber and the financial bill in which proposals for taxation are stated is also voted there first. The upper chamber then considers it like any other legislative bill. It may pass it or amend it. Amendments have to be accepted by the lower chamber. If there is a deadlock the governor-general may refer the matter to a joint sitting of both chambers.

The upper chamber has however the right of general discussion of the budget and the financial policy underlying it. But it has no originating power in financial matters. It cannot vote supplies or grants. In other matters of legislation it possesses co-ordinate powers.

The Legislative Assembly.—The lower chamber is called the Legislative Assembly. It is more democratic. The elected element is in majority there. It consists of 144 members in all

these are elected and 41 nominated. Out of the 61 members more than 25 are to be officials. Each province has a certain number of seats allotted to it on the basis of population. Its electorate is wider as its franchise qualification is lower. The nature of franchise varies in different provinces. It is a property and residential qualification, based on tax paying and other capacities.

Its president and deputy-president are elected and its tenure is three years. The president regulates the proceedings of the assembly according to rules laid down and gives rulings on disputed points, and maintains the privileges of the house. When there is an equality of votes he has the power to give his casting vote.

Its legislative powers are co-ordinate with those of the upper chamber. A bill becomes an act when it passes both houses of legislature and receives the assent of the governor-general. The lower chamber has the power of passing resolutions, introducing adjournment motions, and moving votes of want of confidence against the executive. It possesses the power of asking interpellations and supplementary questions.

It is the originating chamber in financial matters. The financial budget is presented to it. It votes on grants and ways and means of revenue. It must pass the financial bill to become an act unless the governor-general certifies it.

Both the chambers having co-ordinate powers and equal status conflicts may arise in matters of legislation, when amendments or rejection of the one are not acceptable to the other. The Act provides a joint sitting, as stated above, to solve the deadlock. There may be a joint committee at an earlier stage, at the time of the committee stage, or a joint conference to remove the difference of opinion. In the joint sitting the majority of votes of the members present decide the provisions of the bill finally and then it becomes an act with the assent of the governor-general. If however the governor-general does not agree with the bill in the amended form as passed by both the chambers he has the power of certification of the bill as originally proposed or along with the amendments with which he agrees. If the Assembly does not pass a measure in the form recommended by the governor-general he has the power of sending it up to the Council of State, and certifying it, in spite of the opposition of the Assembly.

The relation of the executive to the legislature.—Thus in the Central Government the executive is not responsible to the legis-

lature and the legislature is a non-sovereign body limited in its legislative and financial powers by the executive. The governor-general is supreme and dominates both in the executive and legislature. The executive is irresponsible and irremovable by the legislature. It is not a parliamentary executive like the English Cabinet. No vote of censure can remove its members from office. No vote can affect their tenure of office, their salaries and privileges. It is in short the permanent executive or bureaucracy which directly rules India. It is not bound to accept the recommendations or resolutions of the legislature affecting its policy or administration. In India the executive is the government. The legislature is ultimately purely an advisory and deliberative body. Whatever responsibility the executive owes, is to the British Parliament and the Secretary of the State for India. Of course the government may become responsible to the popular opinion inside or outside the legislature but it is not responsible to it. The legislature's power of passing resolutions, moving adjournments, asking interpellations, of discussing budgets, voting grants, and passing the financial bill and other bills exercises indirectly a good deal of influence on the policy of government and its methods of administration. Its representative character adds weight to its deliberations and recommendations. But the nature of this indirect influence is imperceptible, uncertain and not easily measurable. In most important affairs and problems the advice of the assembly has not been accepted, especially in matters of military expenditure, exchange policy, tariff policy and Indianisation of services.

The budget.—The budget presented to the legislature is an annual estimate of revenue and expenditure made by the finance member. This financial statement contains the proposals of the government for expenditure or appropriation of revenues and also those for ways and means of income or proposals of taxation. The items in budget are divided into two parts—votable and non-votable. Items which are not votable by the legislature (unless the governor-general otherwise directs) concern expenditure relating to defence and higher services, and under heads ecclesiastical and political. They cover about 85 per cent of the total expenditure.

The items which are votable are put before the Legislative Assembly in the form of demands for grants. It has the power to vote or to reject or to reduce them. But the governor-general has the power, in case of refusal or reduction, to restore them if he thinks that they are absolutely necessary for the

discharge of his responsibilities. The Council of State does not share this power of voting demands for grants. It can only assent to or amend or reject the Finance Bill sent up by the Legislative Assembly. Whatever may be the power which the Legislative Assembly possess, there is a standing finance committee appointed by it to examine the proposals for new votable expenditure, to approve of allotments out of lump sum grants, to find out retrenchment and economy in expenditure, and to advise the Finance Department if consulted on any such matters. The committee of public accounts consisting of not more than twelve members scrutinises the audit and appropriation of accounts and sees whether the expenditure is properly done. The legislature has however the power to discuss the budget as a whole and criticise its policy, financial, political and administrative. It has the power to reduce or reject but not increase the amount demanded by the executive. The grants are generally demanded in groups under each department of government.

The Central Government under the 1935 Act.—The Act of 1935 has made important changes in the form and structure of the central government. It has changed it from a unitary form into a federal one and included both Indian States and British Indian Provinces in its federal structure. Under the unitary form the government of India was finally responsible in all matters. It had merely devolved and delegated some powers and subjects to provincial governments.

Character of the map of India.—India's wide geographical extent, her historical divisions into provinces and their separate character and languages, the necessity of devolution of powers and functions from the point of view of real democracy and different needs, and the ambitions of these provinces from the point of view of culture and homogeneity and the presence of Indian States, have led finally to a federal form of government and not a unitary one. But the federal form in India has to be centripetal with discretionary and residuary powers left to the central government and with only definite functions and subjects allotted to provincial or state governments. Centralisation of common essentials so as to stop the disintegrating and centrifugal tendencies of the provinces and states, and a common controlling, co-ordinating and coercive authority at the centre are absolutely necessary. His Majesty's Declaration in 1911 and the explicit statements in the Montford Report fully adopted this position of a Federal India.

Act of 1833.—The historical evolution of the relations of the Provinces and Central Government has been from 1833 to 1919 on the lines of a federal constitution. There has been more and more devolution of powers to provinces and a separation of provincial functions and finances throughout that history. Though in 1833 the power of the presidencies to make laws or regulations was taken away, and the whole power to legislate was concentrated in the hands of the Government of India, still the power of the local Government to correspond with the Court of Directors as before was continued. It was necessary in the future homogeneous growth of India that a centralisation of powers should have taken place at that time. It merged all local differences and conflicting jurisdictions and claims of independence. The creation of a Governor-General of India with full power and authority to superintend, direct and control the Presidency governments in all points relating to the civil and military administration was a very important step. At first was necessary a centralisation and subordination in the separatist circumstances of Indian history and in the interest of India's unity during a period of the ever changing political map of India, and then was to come devolution and decentralisation to satisfy local needs, peculiarities and responsibilities. The question of war and peace, and diplomatic relations and negotiations with Indian States were to be decided and conducted by the supreme government. The Law Commission (1833) codified and simplified the laws. The independence of Presidencies had to be curtailed in these matters in order to create a unified and simplified system and control in matters of defence and foreign policy, and in matters of common or constitutional interests. In the Act of 1835 the N. W. Provinces were separated from Bengal and put under a Lieutenant-Governor. In the Charter Act of 1853 Bengal got a separate Governor. In 1854, Chief Commissioners were appointed for smaller and backward provinces, such as Oudh, Assam, Central Provinces, Burma, Berar, Baluchistan, Coorg etc. Some of them were made later into Lieutenant-Governors.

Act of 1853.—In the Act of 1853 to the Governor-General's Council in its legislative capacity were added four official representative from four presidencies (Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Agra) to bring local knowledge to bear on the making of laws and two judges from the Supreme Court of Calcutta. In this measure there was a recognition of the interests of provinces and a representation of provinces.

1861. So far we find a centralisation tendency. But from 1861 was visible a decentralisation tendency. The large extent of territory created the necessity of having local information and experience and knowing local wishes and needs made visible after the year 1857. This made the starting of provincial councils with legislative functions necessary. The Act of 1861 restored the governments of Madras and Bombay the powers of legislation which the Act of 1833 had withdrawn, but the previous sanction of the Governor-General was made necessary in certain cases and all acts of local councils required the subsequent assent of the Governor-General in addition to that of the Governor. The legislative councils of Madras and Bombay were expanded on the same lines. A legislative council for Bengal (1861), for the N. W. Provinces (1886), and the Punjab (1897) were also established. But at this stage (1861) there was not made any demarcation between the jurisdiction of the central and local Legislatures as in federal constitutions. The Governor-General's Council could legislate for the whole of India and the Provincial Council for the whole province with the Governor-General's sanction. No doubt these legislative councils were mere committees for the purpose of law-making. Through them the executive obtained advice and assistance in their legislation. The Government of India kept defence, diplomatic business of relations with the surrounding Asiatic powers, and political relations with Indian States as its sole concern. It also reserved the administration of tariffs, the currency and exchange, the public debt, post office and railways, audit and accounting which affect the whole country, in its own hands. In other matters it shared the responsibility in a greater or lesser measure with the provinces. There was no further advance in defining or demarcating functions of the central and local authorities. The local authorities were considered as mere agents of the central power from the time of the Act of 1833. But as the Decentralisation Commission (1910) pointed out "the difficulty of defining the exact limits between a just control and petty, vexatious, meddling interference was recognised by the Court of Directors. It is therefore of paramount importance that the relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments should be readily adaptable to new and changing conditions and should not be stereotyped by anything in the nature of a rigid constitution." But though theoretically and in times of emergency India was a unitary state according to the Act of 1833, the variety of local conditions, wishes, sentiments and traditions and want of local

knowledge made administrative devolution in ordinary times a necessity. Thus the supreme Government dealt with some matters at first hand and retained as regards others a supervising and appellate authority. On this principle or necessity some differentiation of functions and powers took place in practice if not in theory. In theory the right of entry into all spheres of activity remained unquestioned. Jails, police, civil medical service, law and justice, courts, land revenue, forests, agriculture, famine and public works, irrigation, stamps, income-tax, commerce, factories, fisheries, salt, excise, education, local self-government, sanitation and so forth were primarily the concerns of local government. Gradually the provincial governments came to have a greater liberty of action. The central government merely laid down general principles and watched their application and effect. The entire governmental system however was "One indivisible whole and amendable to Parliament" according to law.

Decentralisation Commission. 1910.—But the Decentralisation Commission (1910) came to the view that a strong sense of responsibility should be created amongst the subordinate agents and local sentiments and traditions should be given sufficient weight. It advocated that "future policy should be directed to steadily enlarging the spheres of detailed administration entrusted to provincial governments and the authorities subordinate to them and of recognising that they must definitely dispose of an increasing share of the ordinary work of government." But in 1910 Lord Crewe stated the unitary principle again, "there is for India one system of administration and one alone." The Government of India in theory controlled completely the subordinate governments. The Government of India Act (1915) lays down in section 33 :—

"The superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council."

Financial devolution.—In financial matters also though the theory was that provincial governments have no inherent legal right to the revenue which they raised, and all revenues were treated as one and originally went to the central treasury, the exigencies of financial administration created the system of 'divided heads.'

Lord Mayo's government arranged to give a fixed grant to provincial governments for the upkeep of definite services and to hold them responsible for the management of local

finances. In order to encourage provincial economy and to induce them to develop the revenues collected in their territories and to meet their growing needs by giving them a fair share, the Government of India realised the necessity of lesser interference in the details of provincial finances. In Lord Lytton's time provincial governments got control of the expenditure upon all the ordinary provincial services, and in place of fixed grants they were given the whole or part of specified heads of revenue to meet their charges. Thus the classification of revenue heads was made (1) Indian, (2) provincial and (3) divided. Those heads were made provincial which could develop most under careful provincial management, such as forest, excise, income-tax, stamps, registration, etc. From 1882 quinquennial provincial settlements were made with provinces as regards financial arrangements. In 1904 came the system of quasi-permanent settlements. The revenues assigned to a province were definitely fixed and were generally not subject to alteration by the Government of India. The object stated to be was "to give the local governments a more independent position and a more substantial and enduring interest in the management of their sources than had been previously possible." The local government could now have a continuous financial policy.

The Decentralisation Commission (1910) suggested no change. In 1912, Lord Hardinge's government made the settlements permanent. The principle underlying them was that they were based on provincial needs not on provincial revenues. All-India revenues were for all-India needs. Provinces had no power to levy taxes or to borrow without consulting the central government.

Legislative devolution.—In matters of legislation before the Montagu Reforms the local legislatures had powers under certain restrictions to make laws for peace and good government of the province. The central government had also powers of previous consultation, veto, assent, and of concurrent legislation. It had already passed before the provinces got legislative powers a number of uniform laws on all important problems and relating to the needs of peace and good government. Similarly in executive matters the provincial governments were controlled. But the Decentralisation Commission emphasized the principle of devolution.

Thus the unitary conception of government was due to the ultimate sovereignty and control of British Parliament worked through the Secretary of State in Council in England and the Governor-General in Council in India from above.

Forces leading to devolution.—But the pressure of local varieties, needs and complexities compelled the government to devolve and decentralise some powers and functions in matters of finance, administration, and legislation, though the unitary theory of central government's supremacy was not given up. This unitary position could not be long continued when popular opinion began to press from below. In the contest of the theory of full British Parliamentary control on one side, and the fact of local needs and of the pressure of public opinion on the otherside lay the germs of the rising necessity of a federal conception of government in India. In balancing the two forces the ruler's sovereign rights and people's just wishes, separate fields of functions and responsibility had to be gradually marked out and fixed. The new federal conception of provincial autonomy was stated by His Majesty in 1911. Thus the facts which compelled to cause a devolution of powers and a decentralisation of functions and to introduce the conception were :—

1. A variety of local conditions and needs.
2. A variety of local sentiments, traditions and grievances.
3. The huge extent of the country.
4. Historical and cultural differences.
5. The force of people's wishes, natural affinities and homogeneity.
6. The needs of a representative and responsible system of government.
7. The problem of Indian States.

But the last two causes have become more dominant after the Declaration of August, 20, 1917, when under the influence of popular opinion on the government, a partial control of the representative legislature over the executive was admitted and a promise was held out for full responsible government in the future. This has led to a separation of the spheres of functions into reserved and transferred, provincial and central, and also into a complete division of the heads of revenue. Formerly the central government used to assign or allot a fixed sum annually in addition to divided heads. Now a fixed contribution is made by each province to the central government which again is finally to be stopped,

The inevitability of a federal constitution.—The Montagu Report states that granted the announcement of August 20, we cannot at the present time envisage its complete fulfilment

in any form other than that of a congeries of self-governing Indian provinces associated for certain purposes under a responsible government of India; with possibly what are now Native States of India finally embodied in the same whole, in some relation which we will not attempt to define. For such an organisation the English language has no word but 'Federal'. The word 'federal' contains an element of pact. Though there is no such pact between the provinces, the Indian states and the central government and therefore in origin the constitution is not federal, the new constitution of India has become federal in the sense in which other federal constitutions are in nature or character federal. Provinces have no innate powers of their own and are mere agencies, but new constitution has given them a federal character along with the Indian States which will be later on embodied in it. Only this federation must have residuary and sovereign coercive powers placed in the central government like the Dominion of Canada. More and more devolution and demarcation of powers and functions and re-arrangement of provinces and states must be done to reach a real federal type in the future. Professor Newton says "A federal state is a perpetual union of several sovereign states, based first upon a treaty between those states or upon some historical status common to them all, and secondly upon a federal constitution accepted by their citizens. The central government acts not only upon the associated states, but also directly upon their citizens. Both the internal and external sovereignty is impaired and the federal union in most cases alone enters into international relations." Thus federation is a state as well as an association of states or federating units. A federal union in law means an irrevocable surrender.

Unity in diversity.—The federation recognises the essential unity of India, political, economic and cultural, and its common interests and aspirations. But the different units or groups which are contained within it, namely, the provinces, states and communities, make it necessary to recognise their local, cultural and historical differences and their desire for complete internal autonomy and freedom.

Attitude and demand of Indian States.—Moreover, Indian States have been distrustful of the rapid advance of democratic ideas and forms of government in the Indian provinces and of the ultimate development of responsible government at the centre, both of which went against their desire for complete

autocracy and autonomy within their own states. Therefore they felt the political necessity of joining the federation by insisting on a share in federal government and on a system of safeguards to protect their political privileges and power and economic interests and independence to be provided in the new constitution and the instrument of accession when they would decide to join the Indian Federation. The stand they took for the safeguarding of their political rights and powers was based on their old treaties and engagements made with the Paramount power in the past or sanads issued by it. Their demands took the form of (1) an equal share of power in All-India Federation, (2) maintenance of direct connection with the British Crown in non-federal subjects, (3) elimination of interference by the paramount power in internal state matters, and confining that interference in other matters only to those mentioned in their old treaties or engagements and (4) abolition of all new political practice in contravention of them. They agreed to enter the federation if they felt that the new Act and the instrument of accession satisfied their demands and dispelled their fears about the encroachments on their internal sovereignty and political status. Whatever control they welcome will be that of the British Crown and not of the Indian Federal government.

Attitude of the Indian public.—The Indian public opinion is against these special rights and position assured to the Indian States in the new constitution of India and the instrument of accession. These, they fear, will strengthen the separatistic and autocratic tendencies present in the country, prevent the development of a system of real integrated democratic government and a democratic citizenship in India and stereotype a hybrid system of government under the name of government established by law and obstruct real constitutional progress for a long time to come. Such a federation will weaken both the democratic and national currents in India. It will strengthen separatistic tendencies. Its weakness will lie in a lack of real power in central subjects of defence and foreign policy, control of which alone would create a desire of national unity and association, and in want of a common citizenship throughout India which is a *sine qua non* in any system of common government. Indian provinces will tend to imitate and aspire for internal autonomy on the model of Indian states rather than create ties of common nationhood and citizenship in India. Indian States will not like to accept a status of equality with Indian provinces and of subordination to common central government.

The Indian States will spontaneously surrender some of their powers to the federal government, while the Indian provinces and federal government will get their respective powers from the crown which will be at first fully withdrawn from the unitary government in British India. The distribution of powers between the federal government and the provinces has been done by the Act of 1935, and it has laid down the method for the accession of Indian States to the Federation.

The Federation will come into existence as soon as the states, the rulers of which are entitled to choose not less than 52 members of the Council of State, and the states, the aggregate population of which amounts to at least one half of the total population of the states, have acceded to the Federation. The terms on which they will agree to enter the Federation are to be embodied in the instrument of accession. After a state accedes to the Federation there is no right of secession left with it.

When the above conditions are fulfilled, His Majesty on an address presented by both Houses of Parliament will declare by proclamation that there shall be united in a federation under the Crown, by the name of the Federation of India, the governor's provinces and the Indian states which have acceded. The time-limit fixed for their accession is twenty years after the establishment of the Federation. After that the remaining states will be admitted only after the Federal legislature approves of their admission.

Three lists of subjects.—The Act of 1935 has laid down three lists of subjects—one exclusively for the Federation, the second exclusively for the provinces and the third concurrently for both. The residuary powers, instead of being kept with the

central government, are retained with the governor-general who can empower either the federal or the provincial legislatures to enact laws with regard to matters not contained in the central, provincial and concurrent lists.

Federal executive.—The governor-general will be at the head of the federal executive. The central subjects are divided into reserved and transferred subjects. The first contain defence, external affairs, ecclesiastical affairs and tribal areas. The second include the remaining central subjects. The old executive council of the governor-general will be abolished.

Plural executive: counsellors and ministers.—In case of reserved subjects the governor-general will carry on the administration with the advice of counsellors who do not form a council and are not responsible to the legislature. They are to be appointed by the governor-general and are not to be more than three in number, and their salaries and conditions of service are to be determined by His Majesty-in-Council. In the case of transferred subjects the governor-general will administer them with the advice of a council of ministers. They will be chosen from amongst the members of the federal legislature by the governor-general and will be dismissed by him. They are to be responsible to the federal legislature. The council is to act with collective responsibility. There is also to be a financial adviser appointed by the governor-general to assist him in the discharge of his special responsibility for safeguarding the financial stability and credit of the federal government. He is different from the finance minister who will be the head of the finance department and who will remain responsible to the federal legislature. Thus there is no unitary but plural or dyarchical executive at the centre. Then the federal executive is only partially responsible to the legislature. Each part of the executive has its duties and responsibilities separate, though joint meetings are to be held for mutual consultation and deliberation.

Special responsibilities.—Moreover, besides the reserved subjects a number of special responsibilities are newly created and entrusted to the governor-general. They pervade and vitiate the whole scheme of administration and responsibility introduced at the centre or in the provinces. Their exercise depends finally on the interpretation and opinion of the governor-general or the governor. They include (a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of India, (b) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the federal government,

reserved in a certain ratio for general and communal bodies. There are seats reserved for women, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, European, and scheduled castes respectively, and special electoral colleges consisting of their respective members in the provincial legislatures are formed as their electorates. The right of suffrage is based on a high property qualification. There are also some seats reserved for commerce and industry, for landholders and for labour. Its voters number 1,00,000.

Their tenure—The Federal Council will be a permanent body. One third of the total number of its members are to retire every three years. The term of every member will be nine years. The term of the Federal Assembly will be five years. The governor-general has the discretionary power of summoning, proroguing, dissolving and addressing or sending messages to the chambers. He has the power of assenting to, returning for reconsideration or vetoing the bill or reserving it for the assent or disallowance by His Majesty.

The House of Assembly will contain representatives elected indirectly by the members of provincial assemblies. The general representatives will be elected by general members, the Muslim and Sikh representatives by the Muslim and Sikh members, women representatives by an electoral college of all women members of all provincial legislative assemblies.

President and Speaker.—The President of the Council and the Speaker of the Assembly will be elected. These bodies will possess co-ordinate powers. They will have the power of voting grants of expenditure. There will be joint sittings of these chambers to remove deadlocks on financial or legislative bills.

Budget.—The budget or annual financial statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Federation will be laid before both the chambers. So much of the estimates of expenditure as relate to expenditure charged upon the revenues of the Federation shall not be submitted to the vote of the legislature. These are non-votable items. There can be however submitted to discussion in either chamber these non-votable items except the salary, allowances and expenses of the governor-general and the sums payable to His Majesty in respect of the expenses incurred in discharging the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian states. Other non-votable items relate to debt charges, salaries and allowances of ministers, councillors, financial adviser, advocate-general, chief commissioners, federal and high court judges, and expenditure incurred in

connection with reserved subjects and special responsibilities. They form about 80 p. c. of the revenues of the central government. Other items are votable and estimates relating to them shall be submitted in the form of demands for grants to the Federal Assembly and thereafter to the Council of State, and either chamber shall have power to assent or to refuse to assent to any demand or to vote any reduction in it. If the chambers differ the governor-general shall summon the two chambers to meet in a joint sitting and to decide by discussion and majority the item in dispute. No demand for a grant shall be made except on the recommendation of the governor-general. He has the power to certify any expenditure not allowed by the legislature for the due discharge of his special responsibilities. He has also the discretionary power to prevent any proceedings relating to a bill by certifying that they would affect the discharge of his special responsibilities for maintaining peace and tranquillity of India.

The main changes.—The main changes effected therefore by the Government of India Act of 1935 in the Central government are:—

- (1) Federal form and structure,
- (2) Inclusion and accession of Indian states and their nominated representatives,
- (3) Dyarchy or partial responsibility, and plural executive.
- (4) Abolition of the official and nominated bloc in the legislature,
- (5) Increase in the powers and position of the Council of State in regard to financial matters and those
- (6) Of the governor-general in relation to his special responsibilities and powers.

Professor Keith's view.—Keith says "it is difficult to deny the justice of the contention in India that federation was largely evoked by the desire to evade the issue of extending responsible government to the central government of British India. Moreover, the withholding of defence and external affairs from federal control, inevitable as the course is, renders the alleged concession of responsibility all but meaningless. Further it is impossible to ignore the fact that, if the state representatives intervene in discussions of issues in which the provinces are alone concerned, their action will be justly resented by the representatives of British India, while, if they do not, there may arise the spectacle of a government which when the states

interfere has a majority, only to fall into a minority when they abstain. Whether a federation built on incoherent lines can operate successfully is wholly conjectural: if it does it will probably be due to the virtual disappearance of responsibility, and the assertion of the controlling power of the governor-general backed by the conservative elements of the states and of British India."

A federal state should have direct legal relations with all citizens. They must enjoy equality of status and protection before the federal law. But Indian federation does not know fundamental rights for it has no citizens having direct relations with it. The citizens of British provinces do not elect representatives directly to the House of Assembly and inhabitants of Indian states have no place or right to vote there.

Effect of Federation on the sovereignty of Indian States.
Mr. Morgan's opinion.—The effect of accession to federation on the scope and character of the sovereignty of states would be that in legislative sphere their sovereignty would be very considerably impaired and wholly transformed. To legislate for a federated state is to legislate for the subjects of the ruler of that state. The subjects of every ruler of a federated state would be just as much subjected and as directly subjected to federal authority as His Majesty's subjects. Their allegiance would henceforth be divided between the ruler and the federal government. In the executive sphere the coercive power of the federal government in securing federal legislation to compel states to carry out any executive obligations imposed on them is quite unlimited under the Act. The Federal legislature is omnipotent within the federal sphere.

A federal union means in law an irrevocable surrender. It is possible that the states will find their rights, authority and powers seriously curtailed as the result of the judicial construction of the Act. The question of constitutional amendment has an important bearing upon the indissoluble character of the federal union. The states can retain their rights and powers either by an amendment of the Federal Act or by allowing the right of secession or withdrawal from the federation. Neither course will be open to the states once they have acceded to the federation.

Are instruments of accession *instruments*? Even if so, they must be construed as they now stand in the ratified convention. What is the legal efficiency to be attached to the instruments of instructions? In Morgan's opinion the provisions of the instru-

ments of instructions are unenforceable in law and that 'silent operation of constitutional principles may and probably will in the long run result in the 'safeguard' contained in it becoming a dead letter. This is considered wrong by some. They are of opinion that the internal sovereignty of federated States is saved because the Act does not contemplate the exercise of any federal authority over the governments of the states. Paramountcy is the ultimate sanction for the enforcement of federal obligations and that federation has no power to penalise a contumacious state beyond resorting to the governor-general's power in his discretion to issue directions to a ruler.

Sapru's opinion.—Sapru's opinion is that beyond the instrument of accession the sovereignty of states will be unaffected and that the instrument of accession is the final complete limitation on the authority of the Federal Court and the Privy Council.

Effect of the Act and the Instrument.—The scheme of the Act is the creation of a federal government constituted by the union of the provinces of India and the states. The states will accede to the federation in regard to the subjects included in List 1, schedule 7. Individual states will, no doubt, make reservations of their existing rights. But from the legislative and executive point of view the authority of federation will, subject to the limitations in the instrument of accession, extend to all the 48 federal subjects to which the states are expected to accede. In non-federal sphere they will continue in the same position as they are to-day and their relations will be governed by a Crown representative through the political department which will be separated from the government of India and will have nothing to do with the federation.

The instrument of accession permits reservations and limitations being made in regard to the authority of the federation in the states.

8. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

The Provincial Government under the 1919 Act.—The Provincial government before 1935 was known as dyarchy based on the Act of 1919. The Indian government as a whole was unitary. There was however a division of spheres and subjects between the Central and Provincial governments. But the Central government retained overriding and concurrent powers in provincial subjects.

The Provincial executive and the working of dyarchy.—In the provinces themselves some subjects were reserved under the control of the governor and his executive councillors, and others transferred under the control of ministers responsible to the legislature. This was known as dyarchy. But it failed to work as it was contemplated and to satisfy the peoples' demands. It was adopted as a transitional measure to lead to full provincial autonomy in course of time after experience of its working was gained and peoples' capacity was tested. Both the parts worked under the governor but were tried to be kept separate and independent. Only mutual consultations were to keep the unity of the executive in actual working. There was to be no interference in each other. But it was not possible to do so as the subjects could not be mutually exclusive and exactly demarcated. Consequently the Reserved part dominated. It was in the hands of experienced, influential, and irremovable civil servants. The subjects which they controlled were also very important. Ministers were inexperienced or unstable and financially in the hands of the Councillors. Councillors were appointed for a term of five years and were irremovable and not responsible to the legislature. In the executive council they dominated and were unyielding. The vote of the majority prevailed.

With the help of the support of the nominated bloc (official and non-official) in the legislature the governor could keep any minister in the executive council, even if he did not possess the confidence of the elected members. Thus the working of a real system of responsible government was defeated in many provinces, and effete ministers were retained in office even if they were not supported by elected members. The elected representatives of special interests. European and landed and communal interests also helped the government in defeating the development of responsible government in the transferred half. They were for sectional and not national or democratic developments. Ministers who wanted to remain in office and enjoy its powers and privileges created independent sectional groups or parties and joined the nominated bloc. The elected therefore could not organise an effective opposition to or control over the executive and the ministers who merged themselves in it. They were split up into a number of groups, communal and others. Therefore no sense of responsibility could develop amongst ministers who were more anxious to remain in office than to develop the principle of responsible government. The executive being dual did not and was not required to work

of the Government on joint and collective responsibility. It was not a ministry but merely a collection of heads of department for joint consultation. No joint meetings of the members but the ministers met to discuss the strength of permanent and irremovable civil servants nor the support of an independent legislature and an organised majority party.

Moreover the finances remained joint and under the control of a Finance member who belonged to the Reserved half. They were not divided and the Reserved half got better treatment and better allotment. Hence the transferred functions were largely starved and had no new sources of income. The governor who naturally favoured the bureaucracy did not help the development of responsibility or meet the popular wishes. He was more interested in guarding the interests of civil services and accepting their views. In case of serious or successful opposition he used his vetoing, overriding and certifying powers to defeat it.

Provincial Legislatures under 1919 Act.—Provincial Legislatures under the Act of 1919 were unicameral. They contained a large elected element and a nominated bloc of officials and non-officials. The franchise for election was more extended than before. They became law-making bodies and exercised some control over the administration of the transferred subjects. They possessed the right of interpellations, adjournments and resolutions. Theoretically ministers were fully responsible to them.

Their composition was as follows:—

Province.	Elected.	Nominated officials plus Executive Councillors.	Nominated non- officials.	Total.
Madras ..	98	7+4	23	132
Bombay ..	86	15+4	9	114
Bengal ..	114	12+4	10	140
U. P. ..	100	15+2	6	123
Punjab ..	71	13+2	8	94
Behar & Orissa..	76	13+2	12	103
C. P. & Berar ..	55	8+2	8	73
Assam ..	39	5+2	7	53

Provincial government under 1935 Act.—British India is at present organised into eleven governor's provinces and six chief commissioner's provinces. But they are mostly administrative divisions. All of them are not homogeneous in tradition, sentiment, culture and language. Indian demand is for homogeneous provinces. Present heterogeneous provinces have created conflicts based on language, sentiment and culture, and prevented the smooth working of political, social, educational and economic reform. Consequently such provinces lack unity and prevent progress. The Act of 1935 separated Sind and Orissa into new provinces. But Karnatak and Andhra, Gujarat and Maharashtra want their unification and autonomy as provinces. The difficulties in their cases are of vested interests, political prejudices and financial obstacles. Without subventions from the central government they will not be able to finance their administration, or otherwise some less costly form of it will have to be evolved.

Provinces.—At present we have the following eleven governor's provinces. The N. W. F., the Punjab, Sind, the U. P., Behar, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, the C. P. and Berar, Bombay and Madras. The Act provides for the creation of new provinces or changes in the boundaries of the present provinces. A complicated procedure is laid down for it.

The provinces under the Act of 1935 are not creations of the central government and subordinate to it as before, but they are now equal to and independent of it in some respects. They are federal units possessing defined powers and functions in which the central or imperial government cannot interfere. Their sphere of work is defined by the Constitution Act, just as that of the central or federal government is. There is also a common sphere of work in which both possess concurrent jurisdiction. Thus there are three lists of subjects: provincial, federal and concurrent.

Three lists of subjects.—The Provincial list includes subjects such as relate to public order, justice and courts, police, prisons, provincial debt, provincial service, local government, public health and sanitation, education, communications, irrigation and canals, agriculture, land tenures, land revenue, agricultural loans, forests, development of industries, trade and commerce, liquors and drugs, unemployment and poor relief, co-operation, excise duties on liquors, opium etc., taxes on agricultural income, taxes on land and buildings, taxes on professions, trades, luxuries etc., stamp duties, tolls etc.

The Federal list includes naval, military and air forces, external affairs, ecclesiastical affairs, currency and coinage, public debt of India, posts, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, broad-casting, post office savings' banks, federal public services, survey of India, ancient and historical monuments, census, railways, maritime shipping and navigation, aircraft and air navigation, copyright and inventions, arms and ammunition, banking, insurance, corporations, customs duties, salt, income tax, succession duties, naturalisation etc.

The concurrent list includes criminal law and procedure, civil law and procedure, legal, medical and other professions, newspapers, books and presses, lunacy, factories, labour, unemployment, insurance, trade unions, industrial and labour disputes, inland shipping and navigation etc.

Sources and divisions of revenue.—Since 1919 there has been a division of sources of revenue between the central and provincial governments, but the provinces got inelastic sources which were incapable of expansion to meet the growing needs of public utilities and social services and reforms.

According to the Act of 1935 all revenues derived from provincial subjects will belong to the provinces. Some additional sources are also given according to the Sir Otto Niemeyer award. Provinces can also levy additional taxes which do not encroach on federal sphere, such as succession duties, stamp duties, terminal taxes etc. They will also get later on according to the Niemeyer award 50 p. c. of the income tax to be allotted to each of them in a fixed ratio. They may also get a part of the duties on salt, excise and export. The present financial position of the provinces is however not satisfactory and the sources of revenue cannot meet their immediate minimum needs of welfare and progress. Some provinces have to be given subventions from the centre in order to meet their minimum expenditure. Thus the N. W. F. Province gets 100 lakhs, Orissa 43 lakhs, Sind 105 lakhs, the U. P. 25 lakhs and Assam 30 lakhs roughly for a period of five years at present. The provinces have also been given the power of borrowing within the country, and with the consent of the Federation outside the country.

The provincial executive.—The provincial executive is composed of the governor and a council of ministers. All governors of provinces have equal powers and privileges. But their salaries and allowances differ according to the historical importance and the extent of the province. They are all appointed by His

Majesty, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State in Bombay, Bengal and Madras, and on that of the governor-general in other eight provinces. In the first case they are men of importance in the public life of Great Britain, and in the second case they are senior and able men from the Indian Civil Service of British India.

Governor's powers.—The powers of the governor are exercised in some cases in his own discretion, in some others in his individual judgement and in all the rest on the advice of his ministers who are responsible to the legislature. They can be classified as concerning executive, legislative and financial spheres and public services.

When a governor acts in his discretion he does not consult his ministers at all and decides and executes matters himself. When he acts in the exercise of his individual judgment he is required to consult his ministers. But he is not bound to accept their views or advice. He can decide against them. In both these cases the governor is under the general control of the governor-general in his discretion. In the remaining matters he acts on the advice of his ministers. It is in this sphere that there is real autonomy, and not in the above two. He has also the power of being present and presiding at the meetings of the council of ministers, and discuss all matters and urge his points of view. But he can not over-ride their decision in these matters.

His executive power.—The governor chooses and summons ministers in his discretion. He also dismisses them. He is "to appoint as ministers, in consultation with the person who in his judgment is most likely to command a stable majority in the legislature, those persons (including so far as practicable members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature. In so acting he shall constantly bear in mind the need of fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his ministers." according to the instrument of instructions. He in his discretion presides at the meetings of the council of ministers, and makes rules of business and allocation of portfolios after consultation with the ministers.

Though the subject of law and order is placed under the control of ministers the governor is empowered to exercise his individual judgment when rules, regulations or orders are made, amended or approved in regard to any police force whether civil or military. When crimes of violence intended to

When the government become rampant the governor has special power to act in his discretion. In matters relating to superior services in the provinces, namely, the I. C. S., the I. P. S., and others, it is the governor who acts in his individual judgment, when their appointments, emoluments, transfers, leaves, promotions or suspensions are to be made.

He exercises his individual judgment in appointing, posting and promoting district judges. He acts in his discretion in appointing members of the Provincial Public Service Commission and in making rules about their number, tenure of office and conditions of service.

His legislative power.—The governor exercises in his discretion the power of summoning, proroguing, dissolving, addressing or sending messages to the legislature. If the two chambers disagree he can in his discretion summon a joint sitting to remove the deadlock. Every bill requires his assent which he gives in his discretion. He may withhold it or return it for reconsideration or reserve it for the consideration of the governor-general.

After consultation with the speaker or the president he has the power in his discretion to make rules for regulating the procedure and conduct of legislative business. In certain cases his previous sanction is necessary for the introduction of a bill or its amendment. He exercises this power in his discretion.

His ordinance power.—The governor has now the power of issuing ordinances to meet emergencies which they did not possess before. One type of ordinance is issued on the advice of ministers or in the exercise of his individual judgment when the legislature is not sitting. But it has to be placed before the legislature. It ceases to be effective six weeks after the assembling of the legislature or if rejected by it. The second type of ordinance issued by the governor in his discretion to meet emergencies without consulting ministers or submitting it later to the legislature. It continues to operate for six months and can be extended for another period of six months.

Governor's acts.—Those acts which the governor issues in his discretion or individual judgment on his own responsibility for the discharge of his statutory functions are called governor's acts. They have the same force as those passed by the legislature. Only they have to be sent to the Secretary of State through the governor-general and to be laid before the House of Parliament.

His financial power.—The governor exercises numerous powers in relation to finance. He is responsible for the preparation of the budget and its being laid before the legislature in proper form. Though the legislature has the power of assenting to, refusing or reducing demands for grants, he can restore them wholly or in part if in his opinion such reduction affects the due discharge of his special responsibilities. All demands for grants are made on his recommendation. Bills relating to imposing or increasing taxes or borrowing money or charging expenditure can be introduced only on his recommendation.

His special responsibilities.—He has also a number of special responsibilities to be discharged as a governor. They are called reservations or safeguards. They relate to (1) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province, (2) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities, (3) the securing of the legitimate rights and interests of the services, (4) the prevention of discrimination against British citizens, (5) the securing of peace and good government of partially excluded areas, (6) the protecting of the rights of Indian states and the rights and dignity of their rulers, and (7) the securing of the execution of the orders and directions issued by the governor-general in his discretion.

His emergency power.—The governor also possesses emergency powers when a grave constitutional crisis arises and the machinery of government fails to function. In such cases he is empowered to issue a proclamation declaring that he will exercise all the provincial functions in his discretion. He may suspend in whole or in part the operation of the provisions of the Act relating to provincial government. The proclamation is issued with the concurrence of the governor-general given in his discretion and is to be sent to the Secretary of the State who is to lay it before both the Houses of Parliament. It can last for six months and can be renewed again and again for a period of three years. It may be revoked or altered by a new proclamation. Thus it will be seen that the governor possesses a large number of powers, and he is not merely a constitutional head of the provincial autonomous government. Thus provincial autonomy is not a system of full responsible government at present. Large powers are taken away from it.

The ministers.—Ministers are chosen and summoned by the governor in his discretion and hold office during his pleasure. They have to be members of the provincial legislature. The governor normally sends for the leader of the majority in the legislature and in consultation with him fr

... or council of ministers and allots them portfolios of departments. He has also to see that as far as possible a number of important minority communities is included in it.

A minister may be an elected or nominated member or may belong to the upper or lower chamber. The number of ministers is not fixed. They continue to hold office legally during the pleasure of the governor, but actually so long as they possess the confidence of the legislature or until the legislature is dissolved. Their salaries are fixed by an act of the provincial legislature and are not votable annually at the time of the budget. The act can be amended. This removes a constant check on ministers and gives them more stability. Salaries become non-votable and no cut can be proposed in them at the time of the budget.

Responsible government in provinces can develop only on the basis of the collective responsibility of ministers to the legislature, of the constitutional methods of the governor, and of the proper development of the party system. Every ministry responsible to the legislature and the party requires a chief or leader to guide and co-ordinate its work and to be responsible for it. But in India the prime or chief minister cannot rise to the same position as in England, because there is an active governor armed with large and important powers at the head of the government. The governor holds and exercises in law initiative and control in a number of important matters. The new constitution does not expect or require of him to surrender his powers or position. On the contrary it expects him to exercise all his powers actively. He is really *de jure* and *de facto* the head of the executive possessing a large number of independent executive, legislative, financial, special and emergency powers. Besides this the superior public civil services which guide control and direct the public administration in all its branches are under the control of the Secretary of State, and the governors are his agents in dealing with their appointments, promotions, dismissals and other matters connected with their service. Hence it is not possible that the ministerial system, as it prevails in parliamentary countries, can develop in India. The ministers have a constitutional and active superior in the governor and constitutional but independent servant in the I. C. S. who can override or obstruct or oppose the orders of ministers when they disagree with them.

The executive power of a province.—The provincial executive exercises its power in matters entrusted to the provincial legis-

lature. Under the system of provincial autonomy and federation. The executive is independent of the control of federal government in these matters. It is responsible to the provincial legislature and is conducted by ministers fully responsible to it. It has however to carry out the laws of the federal authority which affect the province, and the directions issued by the federal government in these matters, and other matters of dispute or common interest between provinces or the federal government and provincial government.

The provincial legislative chambers.—The Act of 1935 introduced a bicameral legislature in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the U. P., Behar and Assam. The N. W. F. Province, the Punjab, Sind, the C. P. and Berar and Orissa have a uni-cameral legislature. Thus it has created difficulties in the way of democratic government in the first six provinces mentioned above. The upper chambers are known as Legislative Councils and require a higher qualification for franchise. Their suffrage is narrow and is confined largely to vested interests, landlords and rich men. The lower chambers are known as Legislative Assemblies and their franchise is based on low qualifications. Thus the right of suffrage is more extended.

Their tenure.—Legislative Councils are permanent and not liable to be dissolved fully. Only one-third of their members are to retire every three years, so that a member continues to be a member for nine years. Legislative Assemblies last for five years unless dissolved earlier by governors.

Their composition.—In the new legislative assemblies the number of members is larger than before. There are no nominated blocs as before. But their composition is vitiated by separate communal electorates and communal weightages which have created permanent division and discontent in the body politic. Legislative Councils have Presidents and Legislative Assemblies Speakers at their head to guide and conduct their business.

Composition of Legislative Councils is as follows:—

<i>Province.</i>	<i>No. of seats.</i>
1. Madras	.. 54 to 56
2. Bombay	.. 29 to 30
3. Bengal	.. 63 to 65
4. U. P.	.. 58 to 60
5. Behar	.. 29 to 30
6. Assam	.. 21 to 22

Composition of Legislative Assemblies is as follows:—

<i>Province.</i>	<i>No. of seats.</i>
1. Madras	.. 215
2. Bombay	.. 175
3. Bengal	.. 250
4. U. P.	.. 228
5. Punjab	.. 175
6. Bihar	.. 152
7. C. P. and Berar	.. 112
8. Assam	.. 108
9. N. W. F. Province	.. 50
10. Orissa	.. 60
11. Sind	.. 60

Allocation of seats.—In the Legislative Councils the seats are divided into (1) general seats, (2) Muhammadan seats, (3) European seats, (4) Indian Christian seats, (5) Seats to be filled by the Legislative Assembly, and (6) seats to be filled by the governor.

In the Legislative Assemblies the seats are divided into (1) general seats, (2) general seats reserved for scheduled castes, (3) seats reserved for backward areas and tribes, (4) Sikh seats, (5) Muhammadan seats, (6) Anglo-Indian seats, (7) European seats, (8) Indian Christian seats, (9) commerce, industry, mining, planting seats, (10) landholder's seats, (11) university seats, (12) labour seats, (13) seats for women divided again into general, Sikh, Muhammadan, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian

Nature of constituencies.—Constituencies are territorial, communal, occupational and special. There are definite residential, religious, sex, caste, property, professional or educational qualifications for the various constituencies. There are also disqualifications preventing persons from being voters, such as (1) those who hold any office of profit under the Crown in India, except ministers and others exempted by an act of the provincial legislature, (2) those who are of unsound mind, (3) those who are undischarged insolvents, (4) those who are guilty of election offences, and (5) those who are convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for not less than two years.

Extent of franchise.—There is no adult or universal suffrage in India. Yet the franchise is sufficiently low in the case of legislative assemblies. 14 per cent of the population is roughly enfranchised in British India. Voters are about 35,000,000.

Its law-making power.—The provincial governments have complete power of making laws relating to the subjects in the provincial list. The federal legislature cannot interfere in it. In the concurrent list both have the power to make laws. Only in cases of grave emergency caused by foreign war or internal disturbance the federal legislature has power to make laws relating to the provincial list. This happens only when the governor-general in his discretion proclaims a state of emergency to exist. Such a proclamation ceases to exist at the end of six months unless Parliament otherwise directs.

A matter which does not fall within the scope of the three lists is dealt with by the governor-general. Residuary powers are vested in the governor general. He can empower either the federal or the provincial legislature to make laws relating to such matters. Then federal legislature can pass laws relating to matters which affect two or more provinces but with the consent of those provinces. If there is however a conflict between the provisions of a federal law and a provincial law, the former will prevail. In a number of matters affecting the imperial or federal interests, the previous sanction of the governor-general is necessary in order to introduce a bill or an amendment relating to them. Provinces are also not allowed to pass discriminatory legislation against British subjects, British companies and corporations, British ships and aircraft, British registered medical practitioners, British persons carrying on any occupation, trade or business.

The budget.—A bill other than a money bill may originate in any chamber and passes only after the assent of both the chambers where there are two. The annual budget is placed before the legislature. There are items, votable and non-votable, contained in it. The votable items (roughly 50 p. c.) are submitted to the Legislative Assembly in the form of demands for grants. It has the power to assent to, refuse or reduce any of them. But the governor has the power to restore any cut if it affects the discharge of any of his special responsibilities.

Its control over the executive.—The legislature can control the executive administration by passing resolutions, by putting questions, by moving adjournments and by passing votes of no confidence against the government. There are rules made for this purpose by the legislature.

Joint sitting of Chambers.—The two chambers possess co-ordinate powers and in case of disagreement and deadlock bet-

ween them on matters of legislation, the governor may summon a joint sitting of the chambers within twelve months to consider and vote on the bill in dispute. The vote of the majority of members present is to decide the issue.

Chief Commissioner's provinces.—The six chief Commissioners provinces are British Baluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Andamans and Nicobar Islands, and Panth Piploda. They are under the direct administration of the governor-general who acts through a Chief Commissioner appointed at his discretion. Normally the federal legislature has full legislative authority over them. The first four have got each a seat in the Council of State. In the Federal Assembly Delhi is given two and the other three get one each. Coorg has a legislative council of its own.

The tribal, excluded and partially excluded areas.—The governor-general also exercises rights possessed by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance, or other lawful means in respect of tribal areas. These are his discretionary powers. He is aided in this by three counsellors appointed by himself.

In the provinces there are some excluded and partially excluded areas. Governors have a special responsibility as regards the securing of peace and good government in them. In this they have to act in their individual judgment after hearing their ministers' advice. These areas are defined by an Order in Council, and thereafter the King in Council may direct that the whole or part of an excluded area shall become or be made part of a partially excluded area, that the whole or part of a partially excluded area shall cease to be excluded, and may create a new excluded or partially excluded area.



9. THE STATES' GOVERNMENT.

Extent of Indian States.—Indian states cover about seven lakhs square miles, or 45 per cent of the total area (16 lakhs). They have a population of 80 millions or 26 per cent of the total population (337 millions). They number 563 small, and are ruled by hereditary princes or chiefs. These include 109 states of the first class (among them are states like Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir, Gwalior, Travancore), the rulers of which are entitled directly to a seat in the chamber of princes, and 127 others are represented in the chamber by twelve of their own order elected by themselves. The remaining 327 are merely estates, jagirs, etc. are not represented in it. The important

states enjoy fully internal sovereignty. Their external relations are vested in the paramount power. Others possess a limited sovereignty.

Their government.—As regards their constitutional development, the Butler Committee states that of all the 109 princes of the first class, thirty have established legislative councils, most of which are at present of a consulting nature only; forty have constituted high courts, more or less on British Indian models; thirty-four have separated executive from judicial functions; fifty six have a privy purse; forty-six have started a regular civil list; fifty-four have bonus or provident fund schemes."

The Chamber of Princes.—The Chamber of Princes is a consultative body. Viceroy consults it in matters relating to the territories of Indian States and in those matters affecting the states and British Indian provinces and the rest of the British Empire. It has nothing to do with the internal affairs of states or their rulers, or their relations with the Crown. It has pressed for preservation and extension of their rights and given its views on fiscal and defence matters.

The Indian States are a part and parcel of India politically, socially, economically and culturally. They have been brought into an essential unity with the British India by means of inter-communications and common interests and bonds. They will have to join the federation in their own interests. Forces of unity and integration, popular ambition and democracy are against the old order of feudal separatism and local independence.

Instrument of Accession.—In the case of the provinces the accession to the federation is automatic, but in that of the states, it is voluntary. Indian Federation will be proclaimed to come into existence after the accession to the federation of rulers entitled to fill not less than half the 104 seats of the Council of State and having as subjects not less than 39,490,956 persons. When the ruler personally executes an instrument of accession by which he for himself, his heirs and successors declares that he accedes to the federation, then the crown accepts it. The ruler thereby comes under the relevant federal provisions of the act and binds himself to work them. The terms of the instrument of accession make it clear that the act asserts no authority over the state save such as follows from his freely executed instrument. It however will permanently and irrevocably limit his sovereignty. The instrument will have to specify the

which the federation is to have power to legislate for the state, and any limitations of that legislative power and of the federal executive power. Any instrument has to be laid after acceptance before both Houses of Parliament. The King is not obliged to accept any instrument.

Apart from the control given to the federation by the instrument of accession, the rights and obligations of the Crown in respects of the Indian States remain unaffected by the federation.

The grouping of States and their relation to governor-general.—At present the relations of the states have been in the majority of cases rendered direct with the governor-general. In immediate political relations with the government of India are Jammu and Keshmir, Gwalior, Baroda, Mysore, Hyderabad, and Bhutan and Sikkim. There are agents of the governor-general at other places such as Baluchistan, the Central India Agency, the Deccan States Agency (1933), the Eastern States Agency (1933) the Gujarat States Agency (1933), the Madras States Agency (1923), the Punjab States Agency (1921), the Rajputana States Agency, the Western India States Agency (1924). and the N. W. F. States Agency.

There are still a small number of states having indirect relations with local government.

The governor-general is assisted by the political department in dealing with these states. It is subordinate to the governor-general in his capacity as representative of the Crown in its relations with the states. The authority of the Crown varies greatly from state to state.

Progress of constitutional government.—In these states constitutional government hardly exists. Since 1907 Mysore has a legislative council of fifty members with an elected majority. It has legislative and financial powers but no control over the executive power. There is also a representative assembly created in 1881 consisting of 250 to 275 members. Its functions are mainly consultative and interpellative.

In Baroda there is an executive council subject to the Maharaja and a legislative council partly nominated and partly elected for legislation.

In Kashmir since 1934 there is a legislative council, so also in Bhopal, Cochin, Travancore and a few others. In 1919 Hyderabad created a executive council of eight members. The legislative council which was created in 1893 con-

tains twenty-three members of which eleven are officials. None of the states has a constitution which is binding on the rulers. They are not subject to law, and those who act under their orders are not amenable to the jurisdiction of courts.

The law and judicial procedure are not laid down in most states. There is enormous discretionary power in the hands of the executive and judiciary. In short there is no fixed law and no rule of law as in British India.

10. AMENDMENT OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

Amendment of the constitution.—In the preamble of the Act of 1919 it is definitely laid down “whereas the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples.” This neglects altogether the wishes of the Indians in the matter of amendment and does not recognise their right and power in constitution-making. The advice and cooperation of Indians may be sought as in the Round Table Conferences and the Joint Select Committee but, there is no constitutionally recognised place for Indian legislatures in the making or revision of their constitution. Indians have fully protested against this. They have refused to accept the theory of absolute Parliamentary supremacy. They either want a constituent assembly to frame their constitution or the rights of dominions in the matter of the creation or revision of their country’s constitution.

The Act of 1919 provided for a Statutory Commission to be appointed at the end of ten years for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions and make its recommendations.

The Simon Commission was appointed accordingly in 1927 and made its recommendations in 1930.

The position under the Government of India Act of 1935 remains the same. It can be amended only by the British Parliament. The Federal Legislature or Provincial Legislatures have no power to amend any part of the Act. Thus the Indian Legislatures are only law-making bodies. There are not constituent bodies. Parliament is supreme as regards India. It is however in minor matters that amendments by an Order in Council can be allowed if there is the assent of the British Parliament given on request by the Federal Legislature or Provincial Legislature. They relate to size, composition and number of chambers,

qualifications of members, vote
or order issued by the sovereign.

Instrument of Instructions.
is issued to the governor-general
instructions and directions as
matters for which he has spe-
cial matter which are in his discre-
tion exercise his individual judgment
presented to His Majesty.

The governor-general is
as possible in his ministry
majority communities but
which have acceded to the
collective responsibility as
council of ministers in a
that is, in consultation with
a stable majority in the

Similar Instruments
governors of provinces. He
among his ministers. They
require parliamentary

The we have reached
discussion of the problems
religions, cultural, social